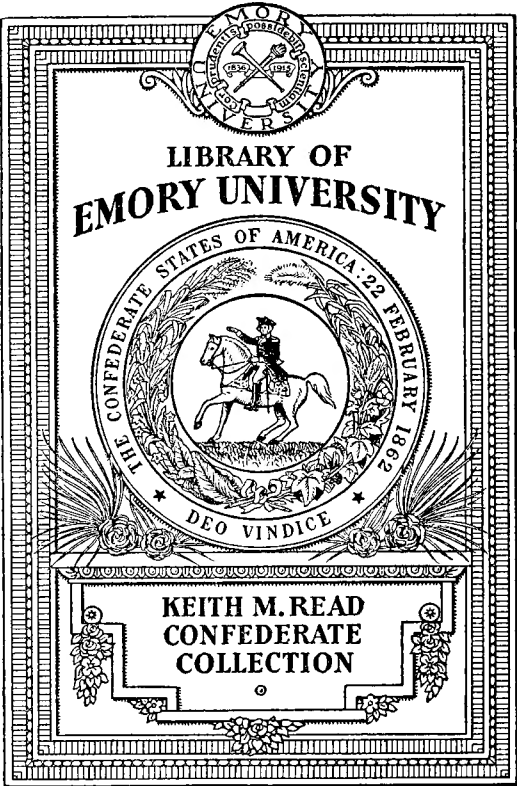


J. Robertson

L E T T E R S
ON THE SUBJECT OF
SOUTHERN WRONGS AND REMEDIES.
BY J. R.

RICHMOND, VA., 1861.



LETTERS

ON THE SUBJECT OF

SOUTHERN WRONGS AND REMEDIES.

The Wrong and the Remedy—No. 1.

FEDERAL GUARANTEE AGAINST STATE INVASION.

[Originally published in the Richmond Enquirer, Nov. '59]

A correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, whose signature (C. R.) points to a citizen of Virginia, distinguished for his thorough knowledge of her laws, has lately presented, through the medium of that paper, an accurate synopsis of her statutes providing for the punishment of crimes against the peace and safety of the State.

These statutes have no extra territorial operation. They apply wholly to acts meditated or committed within the jurisdiction of Virginia. A question consequently arises of no little interest at this time, whether there be any law to restrain or punish the inhabitants of any State of the Union who may instigate or abet hostile enterprises against another, without venturing themselves within its limits. Strange as it may seem, there appears to be no protection or redress in such a case, State or Federal. The outraged State is left to take care of itself—without the power, unless by an act of war contravening or annulling the compact of Union, to meet or repel its enemies before they shall have actually entered its territory, and, possibly, have consummated their predatory or murderous designs.

A brief review of what has been done or omitted in reference to this subject may serve as a supplement to the article of "C. R.," and may perhaps not be uninteresting to the public in the present condition of the country.

As to the States in their separate character, I have been unable to discover any law in either of them having the remotest application to enterprises of the nature alluded to.

Nor do I find in the legislation of the Federal Government any provision prohibiting or punishing such hostile movements. The Constitution, it is true, seems

to confer full power on Congress to afford protection. But, so far, that power does not appear to have been exerted, nor means provided to enforce it.

The chief, if not only clauses of the Constitution bearing directly on this subject, seem to be,

1. That authorizing Congress

"To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." Art. I. sec. 8.

And 2. That which declares that,

"The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and *shall protect each of them against invasion*; and on application of the Legislature or the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence."—Art. IV. s. 4

The following seem to constitute all the provisions enacted by Congress to carry these powers into effect:

1. "Whenever the United States shall be invaded, or be in imminent danger of invasion from any *foreign nation* or *Indian tribe*, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth such number of the militia of the State or States most convenient to the place of danger, or scene of action, as he may judge necessary to repel *such invasion*, and to issue his orders for that purpose to such officer or officers of the militia, as he shall think proper."—Act 28, Feb. 1795, s. 1.

2. "And in case of an *insurrection in any State* against the government thereof, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States on application of the Legislature of such State, or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) to call forth such number of the militia of any other State or States, as may be applied for, as he may judge sufficient to suppress *such insurrection*."—Ib.

3. "Whenever the laws of the *United States* shall be opposed, or the execution

thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or the powers vested in the marshals by this act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State, or any other State or States, as may be necessary to suppress *such combinations*, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and the use of the militia, so to be called forth, may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the next session of Congress.”—*Ib.* s. 2.

Not one of these provisions touches the case of a hostile enterprise, threatened or set on foot by the inhabitants of any State against any other State, or its citizens.

The first applies to invasions of the *United States* by *foreign nations* or *Indian tribes*.

The second to *insurrections* in any State against the government thereof. Now, the term insurrection imports, I apprehend, a seditious or rebellious rising by the people or inhabitants of a State against their own government, and not to an invasion or filibustering expedition set on foot against them by the people of any other State or nation.

The third relates exclusively to combinations against the laws of the *United States*, as distinguished from those of the States in their individual or separate character.

How much better care have we taken of foreign nations than of ourselves! The Constitution gives Congress the power “to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.”—Art. I. s. 8.

Under this clause, very shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, acts were passed prohibiting hostile enterprises against *foreign nations*, under severe penalties of fine and imprisonment. By one of these acts, re-enacted in 1818, it is declared that

“If any person shall, within the Territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begin, or set on foot, or provide, or prepare the means for any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the Territory or dominions of any *foreign* prince or State, or of any colony, district or people with whom the United States are at peace; every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not

exceeding three thousand dollars, and imprisoned not more than three years.—Act 20th April, 1818, s. 6.

Now the Constitution, we have seen, also declares that the United States *shall protect each of the States against invasion*: invasion, I apprehend, in the most comprehensive sense of the term—from any and every quarter. Yet this protection as against hostile enterprises of the States or people of the Union, explicit and unqualified as are the right and obligation to afford it, has remained unprovided for from the origin of the Government to this day. It is difficult to account for this anomaly in the history of Governments, upon any other hypothesis than that the crime of plundering and slaughtering their own brethren, like that of parricide of old, was considered too monstrous to be possible.—

INVASION OF VIRGINIA.

But that notion has been exploded; and an outrage exceeding in atrocity all that was ever imagined by the most craven-hearted alarmist, or factious extremist, North or South, has recently been perpetrated against one of the Confederate States, by citizens of her sister States, which has shaken the Union to its foundation. In a time of profound peace, the territory of Virginia has been invaded, and her quiet and happy population, white and black, incited to civil war and servile insurrection, by a band of fanatical brigands, instigated by perjured traitors sworn to maintain that Constitution which guarantees her safety; and by Holy men, who, laying aside the Bible and the Cross for the rifle, the pike, and the bowie-knife, pervert the Gospel of Peace and mercy into a code of blood.

Yes, the evil hour has come at last. If deceived by the baying of moon-struck politicians, or the howlings of rabid priests, the people of the South have at any time prematurely raised the outcry of “wolf!” “wolf!” yet the wolf has now in truth come upon us—in the dead hour of the night,—and the blood of his victims marks his footsteps. True it is, the invaders of our soil, the disturbers of the peace of the nation, who have lighted up anew the dying embers of sectional hostility, and endangered the Union of the States, have been subdued and captured; but yet, throughout the region whence they came, the press and pulpit,—nay, the people themselves in

masses, deplore it as a public calamity, that these guilty outlaws have been seized *flagrante delicto*, before they had fully completed their work of plunder and massacre. Their pardon is demanded; associations are formed to rescue them, and the Chief Magistrate of the State is daily and hourly threatened with assassination in case the penalties of the law shall be enforced against them. Thieves and assassins are elevated into heroes, and the gallows is to confer on them the crown of martyrdom. Even those who do not exactly justify their conduct, intercede for them on the plea of insanity. They acted forsooth under the impulse of a mistaken but holy zeal—an insane delusion. Why, then, were they not confined in lunatic hospitals, or at least kept at home in straight-jackets, instead of being turned loose armed with deadly weapons to put in jeopardy their own necks, as well as the lives of their brothers and neighbors? Do not the folly no less than the number of these sympathizers, argue an astonishing prevalence of the insanity they affect to deplore?

The peaceful relations of the States, if peaceful they may be called, the existence of the Union itself, all now agree, were never in more imminent peril. If to-day civil war does not actually exist, before to-morrow's sun shall rise we may be plunged into that direst of all calamities which can befall a nation! No, there is yet a greater—a servile insurrection—that “irrepressible conflict” of *racés*, which is openly menaced and instigated by a hell-born fanaticism, and which, if brought about, its promoters well know must result in the extermination of one or the other.

Things cannot remain as they are. It is time to reform the reformers. It is time the United States should vindicate the pledge contained in our compact of union by securing us from invasion by our Northern brethren. As matters now stand, their men of peace may beat upon “drum ecclesiastic” for volunteers, and their crazy followers openly enlist, from the refuse of their populous cities, desperadoes of the “higher law,” to engage in a new crusade against the South, with as absolute impunity as law-abiding citizens may unite to settle the wild lands of the West, or hunt the buffalo. *Something must be done, and done quickly.* The wisdom of Congress, doubtless, will readily devise

the appropriate remedy. Perhaps a few words interpolated in the laws protecting *foreign nations* from the hostile enterprises of our own citizens, whereby the same protection shall be extended to the States of the Union, might possibly suffice for the crisis, and for this special mischief.

All we have to say to our Northern brethren is in homely phrase;—*hands off; mind your own business and leave us to attend to ours.* Obey the sublime injunctions of that Higher Law you affect to venerate: *Commit no theft—Do no murder.* If they persist in disseminating their notions at the point of the bayonet—if that government which is bound to secure our peace, shall not effectually interpose its paramount authority—then must we rely on our own resources, and on the head of our aggressors be all the evils which may ensue.

Are moderation, good faith and sanity left among us sufficient to right the wrong, avert the horrors in prospect, and save the only free institutions on earth from the wickedness, folly and madness of the times? Let us cling to the hope that reason as well as justice has not been banished from the world. J. R.

The Wrong and the Remedy.—No. II.

FEDERAL GUARANTEE AGAINST STATE INVASION.

[From the Richmond Enquirer of the 6th of Dec. 1859.]

When Louis the XVIth was roused from his slumbers by the Duke de Liancourt, and informed of the taking of the Bastille, “*What?*” said he, “*this is rebellion.*” “*Sire,*” replied the Duke, “*it is REVOLUTION!*” With much more reason might the people of Virginia, when they first received intelligence of the invasion of our territory, the capture of the United States Arsenal at Harper’s Ferry, and the midnight seizure imprisonment and murder of our citizens by Northern desperadoes, have regarded these acts as individual outrages—vain and senseless as they were criminal—which would be promptly expiated under the gallows, and there an end!—But when it is seen that an atrocity, perhaps without a parallel in the history of nations, instead of bringing down the universal execration of the States united with us in a league of friendship, has, with comparatively few exceptions, been excused or palliated; nay, in many

instances, applauded, in that section of the Union which gave birth to the monsters who committed it, we are ready to exclaim: *This is something worse than treason, rebellion and murder—it is the DAWN OF REVOLUTION!*

Such is the perverted condition of the public mind and morals, so revolting the present state of our home relations, in the quarter referred to, as to force on every reflecting man the sad conviction that, unless they be speedily restored to a sounder state, a separation of the States is unavoidable; and the hour now at hand, which shall sound the knell of the parting year, may forever shroud in darkness the brightest prospects of prosperity and happiness which ever greeted the eye of patriot or philanthropist.

True, it is not the first time that the restless agitators of the North have endangered our peace; but it is the first time that they have attempted to carry out their treasonable designs by a deliberate scheme of invasion and murder.—

Descendants themselves of slaveholders, of sinners who actually trafficked in human flesh; *constitutionally* subject to brain fever, (the *maladie du pays*) their holy horror of slavery since they parted with “the curse” *for value received*, has daily grown more intense, until possessed by more evil spirits than ever entered the bodies of their ancestors—poor wretches who were burned for witchcraft, or the greater wretches who burned them—they are ready to exterminate by fire and fagot every heretic who doubts their immaculate piety and wisdom, or refuses to conform to their infallible dogmas.

Is it to be wondered at that a sovereign State, vested with the conceded right of regulating its own internal concerns, should be roused to resentment and indignation by the desecration of her soil and the unprovoked slaughter of her citizens, perpetrated by conceited and meddling reformers, who would reduce her political system—nay, the universe itself—to chaos, that they might reconstruct them in conformity with their own sublime conceptions? Is it not rather a matter of astonishment that she should have given to her insolent and bloody assailants, taken with weapons in their hands provided for her destruction, an impartial trial in her courts of justice, instead of shooting them down upon the spot, or hanging them on the next tree?

The public mind throughout the Union, probably throughout the civilized world, is anxiously contemplating the **WRONG**, and speculating on the **REMEDY**. The enquiry is universal, *What is to be the issue? Can anything be done to avert disunion and possibly civil war?* And there can be but one opinion—that if there be a remedy in the power of the aggressing States, or of the Federal Government, that remedy must be *promptly afforded*, or the States aggrieved and endangered must provide for their own safety.

Various plans, defensive and retaliatory, have been suggested as proper to be adopted by the South. Among others:

1. Immediate secession:

2. Prohibition, non-importation, and taxation, direct or indirect, of Northern products and manufactures:

3. Non-intercourse with our enemies—the Abolitionists.

I do not design to discuss these plans at large. As to those classed under the two first heads, however justifiable they may be in themselves, and however necessary they may ultimately become, an immediate resort to either of them would seem obviously premature and impolitic. The outrages which rouse us to action were the acts of unauthorized individuals. So far they have received no countenance from the constituted authorities, State or Federal. In such cases it is the practice of all civilized nations to demand redress from the governments properly responsible, before resorting to vindictive or offensive measures. Disunion, with its possible consequences, is an unhappy alternative, an evil of vast magnitude, not to be encountered unless to avoid the greater evil of degrading submission to injustice and oppression.

As to commercial restrictions, designed to operate upon the North *generally*, it can be neither just nor wise, while there remains the remotest hope that they will promptly accord to us the guarantee we are entitled to demand, to alienate our friends and involve the innocent with the guilty.

But we have an undoubted right, and it would be just, to *discriminate* in the use of our means between our friends and our foes. Non-intercourse, therefore, with the latter, social and commercial, while it may serve to rebuke their meddling spirit, will accord, probably, with the judgment and feelings of every Southern man.—The only fear is, that they may elude the

blow; the only regret, that it was not struck forty years ago. We might then have tamed the whelp of Abolitionism by starvation, instead of pampering him into a full-grown mastiff, who "would tear the very hand which feeds him." We are convinced at last of the folly of erecting palaces and cities for those who pursue us with undying hate; who would way-lay us on our paths, or burn our dwellings; of building up factories, whose owners and operatives, along with the shoes and blankets with which, for filthy lucre, they most sinfully supply the slaveholder, secretly convey their poisonous nostrums to corrupt the hearts of his slaves, and madden them, to their own utter undoing, into rebellion and murder. But no commercial restrictions levelled at the disturbers of the nation's peace, will afford to the Southern people that security for the future, which they will, I trust, to a man, unite in exacting. What, then, is the course they should adopt? I have already expressed the belief that there is no legal provision in any of the States to prevent or punish hostile movements by its citizens against those of any other State. If there were, it is most manifest such a law could not be enforced. Say that the offenders were declared felons or traitors:

"Who must hang them?"

"*The honest men.*"

Then would the felons and traitors "be fools," for there are enough—it may be—"to beat the honest men and hang up *them.*"

Why, do we not see that a military force from 2,500 to 3,000 strong is now assembled, fully armed and equipped, to prevent the ringleader of a murderous abolition movement, taken within the limits of Virginia, and doomed by her laws at the very moment I write, to expiate his misdeeds by a just but grievous punishment, from being rescued by his accessaries at the North?

POWER OF UNITED STATES TO FULFILL THEIR GUARANTEE.

But while no redress is to be expected from the individual States, there is ample power in the Federal authorities—nay, it is made their special duty—to provide for our perfect security. Fortunately, Congress and the General Assembly of Virginia will both convene in a few days. Let the good faith and friendship of our Northern allies be brought *immediately* to the

test. Let our State authorities and representatives in Congress demand a compliance with the imperative commandment of the Constitution, which declares that "the United States *SHALL* protect each State from invasion." The power to protect from invasion involves that of protecting from imminent danger of invasion. In like manner I apprehend the obligation to suppress insurrection, and guaranty to each State a republican form of Government, includes the power to punish all who may "advise, or conspire with others to rebel or make insurrection, whether such rebellion or insurrection be made or not;" and all who shall conspire to subvert the republican Government of any State, and to establish an usurpation within its limits.

NATURE OF SECURITY REQUIRED.

But the mere passage of such laws as interdict or punish hostile movements of the character in question, will not suffice unless full provision be made for their due execution; not by calling on the militia of *the infected section* from which aggressions may come, or be threatened, but by a regular force raised and stationed on the requisition of the endangered State, within its limits, and placed at the disposal and under the orders of the commander-in-chief of such State for its defence.

In a word, without going into details, the Southern States should require from the Federal Government *SECURITY*; security to the extent of its ability and obligation—absolute, practical, effectual security—and nothing short of that should be accepted.

FAILURE TO PROTECT DISSOLVES THE COMPACT.

In claiming this we sue for no favor; we demand a right. Can it be refused? Then will the United States refuse to redeem their pledge, and the compact which made us a united people is at an end—ended by the violation of a solemn, fundamental and indispensable condition of our Union.

The Southern States, in declaring this as their understanding and judgment, cannot be properly said to *secede*. Secession implies the *continued existence* of a body from which a withdrawal is made. But if the legal consequence of the palpable violation of the compact be that the compact is at an end, the body politic which

it created, is *defunct*, and its dissolution necessarily releases every State from the bonds of Union.

Be this as it may, whether the severance of our political connection be termed secession or dissolution, the consequences will be the same. The United States, in their aggregate character, *as a boby politic*, will cease to exist, and the States, disunited, revert to their original condition of *separate and independent sovereignties*.

CONVENTION OF SOUTHERN STATES.

In the meantime, to meet the possible contingency of a refusal by the U. States to keep their covenant, *it would seem but a timely precaution to call an immediate, or early convention of the Southern States*, to receive and consider the final resolutions of Congress. Should these be incompatible with our rights and our safety, the crisis will demand calmness as well as courage. Rashness might prove as ruinous, as a pusillanimous submission would be disgraceful. It would be premature and presumptuous in any individual to dictate the measures then to be taken.—They should, and doubtless will, be adapted to the exigency, and such as will preserve the rights, the interests, and honor, of the Southern people. Should disunion ensue, let those whose breach of faith and wrongful acts shall bring it about, bear the blame, as they will certainly gather its most bitter fruits. The South has ever evinced a sincere and deep-rooted attachment to the Union, *as it was ordained and designed*. In proof of this we may appeal to our long endurance of contumely and aggression. Year after year, our institutions and our character as a people have been reviled; and the property of our citizens openly or secretly taken and withheld from its owners. But insult and pillage have at length given place to invasion and murder; and these outrages, as already said, have received the open support or silent acquiescence of the Northern people. Schemes still more atrocious are afloat, countenanced by their representatives and statesmen. The Governor of the most populous State in the Union, and no less than sixty-eight members of Congress are promoting the circulation of a pamphlet, designed to subvert our State institutions, confiscate our property, and deluge our land in blood. Will not the representatives in Congress who really desire to preserve the Union, purge the councils of the nation by the expulsion of

these traitors and murderers—(for as such, in a moral view must all accomplices of the North Carolina Arnold be regarded)—or withdraw from all political communion with them? Let it not be said that this would be a revolutionary movement. It would be *anti-revolutionary*, and strictly constitutional. J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 3.

[Originally published in the Richmond Whig.]

FEDERAL GUARANTEE AGAINST STATE INVASION—CONFLICTING OPINIONS OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNOR—STATE RIGHTS.

Never were words freer from ambiguity than those of the Federal Constitution, binding the United States to protect each State against invasion. Accordingly none deny their plain meaning or obligatory force. Still a question exists, whether the provision operates *of itself* as a present, practical security, or needs legislation to make it available. I have, in a former letter, expressed the latter opinion; and that opinion is confirmed by the recent correspondence between our Governor and the President. They differ widely on this question—so widely that, in the opinion of the former, “whether he or the President be right, we are, in either case, *thrown on our self-dependence*.”

I concur in his *conclusion*; but by no means in the views on which he grounds it. My opinion springs from a full persuasion that legislation by Congress was originally contemplated, and is still indispensable, to render the constitutional guarantee effectual.

“The power and *duty* to legislate for that purpose,” as the Governor truly asserts, “belong *unquestionably* to Congress.” This, Mr. Buchanan does not controvert. But he does deny, as I understand him, the existence of any provision, legal or constitutional, enabling him to carry the guarantee into effect; at least, in the mode proposed or desired; and this denial, whether well founded or not, proves as already said, the proposition for which I have all along contended, that *there is no practical remedy now subsisting*. A law which he who is charged with its execution neither recognizes nor can be forced to obey, is the same to all concerned, as though no law existed.

It is greatly to be regretted that on a question involving the safety of the State, and the durability of the Union, so wide a difference of opinion should exist be-

tween the magistrates respectively entrusted with the administration of State and Federal affairs. In such circumstances, it is the privilege, not to say the duty, of every citizen to canvass the opinions of both, and decide for himself. But before we, the sovereign people, to whom these high functionaries are amenable, can judge between them, we should ascertain *what was required* of the President? *What was done?* *What omitted, or refused?*

The correspondence has not as yet been fully published. But we are told, in the Governor's message, emphatically, that no application was made to the President for protection. True, he was "notified of a just apprehension that this State was threatened with invasion by a predatory border war, to rescue convicted criminals, and to seize our citizens as hostages or victims—proceeding from several surrounding States." But he, the Governor, "did not," he tells us, "call on the President to protect Virginia, and would not do so." He adds: "I apprised him of apprehensions, in order that he might take steps to preserve peace between the States. I had called out our militia, and they are a thousand-fold ample to defend their State."

Why there should have been any reluctance to call directly on the President—believing it to be in his power—to protect the State from a threatened invasion, is not readily perceived. There could be nothing derogatory in inquiring the performance of a stipulation which our statesmen and patriots of '76 saw nothing derogatory in demanding; and in consideration of which, we had, to a great extent, surrendered the right of protecting ourselves. Admitting the ability of Virginia to defend herself, it was her interest no less than her right to insist that the burthen of her defence should be borne by those who were bound primarily to provide for it. Nor, I must frankly say, do I see any right to complain that *that* protection was not afforded, which it seems was neither needed nor asked.

But, though not deigning to ask for Federal protection, the Governor did apprise the President of *an apprehended invasion*, "in order that he might take steps to preserve peace between the States," by sending troops—not to protect Virginia—but *to break up depots* (in other States) *of desperadoes threatening to invade us*. The President it seems could

discover no provision in the Constitution, no law "which would authorize him to take steps for the purpose of preserving peace between the States *by guarding places in surrounding States which may be occupied as depots and rendezvous by desperadoes to invade Virginia*." "As I understand his interpretation," says the Governor, "he cannot call forth the militia nor employ the land and naval forces, &c., *for this purpose*." He says it is the duty of the State governments to break up such depots, and to prevent their citizens from making incursions, &c.; but that *if the Federal Executive were to enter these States and perform this duty for them, it would be a manifest usurpation of their rights*. Were he thus to act, it would be a palpable invasion of State sovereignty, and as a precedent might prove highly dangerous." This the Governor considers new and alarming doctrine; teaching even Virginia a lesson of State rights, which destroys her constitutional guarantee of protection against "invasion by Abolition fanatics from other States." He regards the President as saying in effect, that "these fanatics" are not from any "foreign country," nor are they "Indian tribes," nor are they "invading the United States when invading Virginia."

The point at issue, it is to be inferred, from the President's reply, was his power to watch or break up depots of desperadoes in the surrounding States. If there be any such power, I, too, have been unable to discover the provision conferring it; and, far from thinking the want of such provision detrimental to State rights, my devotion to those rights induce me to hope that none such will ever be found, or made a part of our Federal Code.

A State Governor informs the Federal Executive, that he entertains apprehensions of an invasion by desperadoes collected at certain places in other States—and thereupon, the whole military force of the United States is supposed to be at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, to enter the State where these desperadoes are collected, and break up their depots. How is the breaking up to be effected? Merely to disperse the conspirators would only put them to the trouble of assembling elsewhere, and keep the Federal troops in a perpetual chase. Effectually to break them up they must be shot down or captured—~~captured or shot, with~~

out any other proof of their guilt than the belief or suspicion of an unsworn individual. When merely maimed, or captured, what is to be done with them?—Where is the law defining the crime, or prescribing their punishment? How and where are they to be tried? In the courts of the United States, or those of the “sympathizing” States in which they may be tolerated or encouraged? or in the State aggrieved or menaced? or, may they be condemned and punished, without a trial, by a drum-head court martial, or Chief Justice Lynch?

These are questions which must be answered before the right of the Federal authorities to *take the steps* in question can be admitted.

In the face of all the difficulties they present, the President is taunted as the teacher of a *new* and *alarming* theory of State rights, for declining, of his mere motion, to put a sovereign State to rights, by invading her territory, and capturing, it might be, or shooting her citizens, or others, under the restraints as well as protection of her laws. “He,” (the President,) we are told, “seems to think, that the Constitution and laws do not provide authority ‘to repel invasion,’ or keep the peace between the States, *unless* the Executive or Legislature of the State invaded *applies for protection*.”—The Governor dissents from this opinion, and says that “neither the framers of the Constitution, nor the Congress of 1795 were guilty of *so gross an omission* in their provisions for the national safety.” Where, then, are these provisions to secure national safety, by giving the Federal Executive discretionary power to invade a State? There is not one, I venture to affirm, which gives it by direct or express grant—not one, I firmly believe, which confers it by the remotest implication, or most distant allusion.

Let us bring this matter home to ourselves. The Governor of Ohio, recently, in replying to a letter from the Governor of Virginia, says:

“I observe with regret, an intimation in your letter that necessity may compel the authorities of Virginia to pursue invaders of her jurisdiction into the territories of adjoining States.” He expresses a hope that no circumstances may arise, creating, in their opinion, such a necessity: and declares that the people of Ohio cannot consent to the invasion of

her territory by other States, “even for the purpose of arresting fugitives from justice.”

Let us suppose that he should lay this correspondence before the President, *notifying him of just apprehensions*, founded on information or rumors from various quarters, of a meditated invasion of Ohio, for the purpose mentioned in our Governor’s communication—“*in order that the President might take steps to preserve peace between the States.*” In doing this Gov. Chase might do no violence to truth—still less perhaps to his own feelings—and in the estimation of the whole body of “sympathizers” might be regarded as second only to the illustrious horse thief and filibuster whom the gallows has elevated to immortal glory. What would we think—we at least of the *State rights school*, who vainly opposing a popular despot—(by the way, despots are often popular in their day and generation—witness Cæsar, the Bonapartes, Jackson, &c.,)—sustained as he was by the united host of old-fashioned Federalists and apostate Democrats—warred against the “deep damnation” of the proclamation and force bill; *what would we think*, if upon this hint the President should send federal troops *to keep the peace* between us and Ohio, by guarding or breaking up any camp or rendezvous within our limits? I trust and believe there is not a man in the State, whatever may be his political creed, who would not regard the doctrine sanctioning such a step as far more fatal than that now professed by President Buchanan, and for which he is taunted as the teacher of a new and alarming theory of State rights.

That a Chief Magistrate of the Old Dominion—the land of Mason and Henry—should invite, however indirectly, the Federal Executive *to take steps* so revolting to State pride, so subversive of State sovereignty, would scarcely be credited, did we not learn the fact from his own lips. Were I a citizen of a State thus outraged from within and without, I should be much at a loss to say which was the most lawless—though I might readily decide which was the most dangerous of her enemies—the desperadoes assailed, or their assailants; and if able to level a musket in her defence, would hardly know how to discriminate between the respective ringleaders, though one of them might be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 4.

[*Whig, January, 1860*]

FEDERAL GUARANTEE AGAINST STATE INVASION—
CONFLICTING OPINIONS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES AND THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA—
POWERS OF CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OVER
THE MILITARY FORCES.

In reviewing the letter of President Buchanan, the Governor adverts to the clause in the Federal Constitution in which it is stipulated, that the several States shall keep no troops in time of peace without the consent of Congress, nor engage in war, &c., and holds very properly that the clause whereby the *United States* guarantee each State against invasion, was intended to compensate for the almost total surrender of the right of self-defence. He thinks by the way, that in this last clause, "*United States*" is to be taken as *synonymous with "the Congress."* I am unable to perceive the necessity or propriety of this construction. The framers of the Constitution meant, no doubt, precisely what they said. They knew too well the distinction between the "*United States*" and a mere agent or department of their government; and too fully appreciated the importance of precision, to confound terms invariably used by themselves in a definite and distinct sense, and in accordance with their familiar acceptance!

POWER OF CONGRESS TO PROVIDE FOR CARRYING INTO
EFFECT THE GUARANTEE OF THE U. STATES—ADMIT-
TED.

But it is needless to go into an examination of the reasons assigned for this reading; for though I think the true construction is *with the words*, and pledges the '*United States*' and not '*the Congress*,' to make good the stipulated guarantee, I readily adopt the Governor's conclusion, (as I understand it,) that the *United States* are to effect the guarantee through the instrumentality of Congress. He thus states this conclusion:

This duty and power then of guaranteeing protection to every State against invasion, belongs unquestionably to Congress.

NO POWER IN THE PRESIDENT, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED,
TO ENFORCE THE GUARANTEE WITHOUT SANCTION OF
CONGRESS.

He then propounds the enquiry—'*Has it exercised the power?*' And answers, "*It has.*" Thus:

To the Congress also is given the power "to raise and support armies," and "to provide and maintain a navy," and these are called, specially, "the land and naval forces" of the United States.

I presume that no one will gainsay the proposition that the chief object of these land and naval forces is "to suppress insurrections and to repel invasions."

Doubtless these were *among* the objects; but not, I think, the *chief* objects. Had it been so, the burthen and the danger of a standing army, might well have been spared us from the foundation of our Federal Republic; for from that day to the present—a period of 70 years—it has been employed to repel invasions in a few instances only—during the war of 1812; and never *even once* to suppress an insurrection. Its use was threatened, it is true, against South Carolina, as was the grape-vine against her most distinguished citizens, during the reign of terror, under the sanction of the force bill; and the threat thus to treat a sovereign State as a rebel and insurgent, teaches us—(a lesson never to be forgotten, I trust)—the danger of vesting such power in the commander-in-chief.

The chief objects of creating the land and naval forces, were, I rather think, of the army, to keep the Indians in due subordination,—of the navy, to scour the seas in time of peace, as well as war, and protect our commerce, and of both, to battle with our enemies.

But, let it be as the Governor supposes: He then goes on to say:

"But, in addition to these powers, another is specially added: 'To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.' And I presume that no one will insist that the regular army and navy of the United States may not be ordered to execute the laws of the Union and to suppress insurrections and repel invasions, without calling forth the militia, or though the militia may be called forth to execute the same purposes. This granted—"

But this cannot be granted. A strict constructionist at least, may well doubt it. It does not follow because a particular description of military force may be used for specific purposes, that every other kind may be used for the same purposes. According to the settled rule of construction, the specification of the one distinct kind of force, is the exclusion of all others. If the Governor only meant to say that the army and navy may be thus employed *under the authority of Congress*, the proposition might be readily granted. But his whole argument is intended to show that

the *regular force* may be employed by the President *at his own discretion*.

But let us follow the argument:

This granted, the Congress did pass the laws; 1st, to raise armies, and to provide and maintain a navy, as well as laws for calling forth the militia.

And then, by article 2nd, the President is vested with the Executive Power! He is sworn faithfully to execute the office of President, and to the best of his ability, to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States; and he is made Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; and he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed!"

POWER OF THE PRESIDENT OVER THE MILITARY FORCE
—SPECIAL AND LIMITED.

The proposition affirmed, be it remembered is that Congress *has exercised* the power which "unquestionably belongs to it, of guaranteeing protection to every State;" and it is now argued that it has done this by "passing laws to raise armies, and also for calling out the militia." Congress has thus provided the *means*, and the various provisions above quoted are intended to prove that the Constitution confers the *power*. Unable to find any act of Congress expressly making the slightest reference or allusion to the guarantee, forced implications are resorted to, or inferences rather, purely conjectural. The idea is thus fully expressed. Speaking of "invasion," it is said:

"And against this the President has the means, provided by Congress in the laws raising and providing a standing army and navy—the land and naval forces of the United States—which need not be "called forth," but are armies already raised and standing, and a navy already "provided and maintained." The President is commander-in-chief of these, and may order them to repel actual invasion, as they are already in actual service without being *called forth*. And he is surely as much bound to execute the Constitution as the statutes of Congress. *The laws to be executed, embrace both, and he has the means to execute both provided in the statutes for raising armies and providing a navy as well as in the laws calling forth the militia.*"

Now the mere act of raising an army or navy, confers no power to use them for

any special purpose whatever, and implies nothing more than, that they are to be used for all lawful purposes.

AS TO THE MILITIA.

As to the *militia*, it is clear that the President cannot employ that part of the military force without the previous authority of the nation's representatives. This is believed to be a settled construction; and, indeed, seems tacitly admitted by the passage just cited which rests his power to use the regular force on the ground that that is "already raised and standing" and, consequently, "need not be called forth." The power given to Congress to provide for calling forth the militia, specially defines the objects for which they may be so called—namely: "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." It is for Congress, which alone can make or authorize the call to specify the objects, designate the points to or from which they shall be sent, and provide for their arming, equipping, transportation and pay. These are legislative powers, and incidental and essential to the due execution of the main power in question. The functions of the Executive, wholly distinct, do not commence until after the action of Congress. So far as to the militia.

AS TO THE REGULARS.

As to the *regular force*, the same necessity exists, I apprehend for legislation. It is hardly to be credited that greater latitude of discretion would be vested in the Executive over that force than over the militia. But as has already been noticed, while it seems tacitly admitted that the President cannot call forth the militia without the authority of Congress, it is contended that he may, at his discretion, employ the regulars in repelling the actual or meditated invasion of any State, because the latter are "already raised and standing, and consequently need not be called forth." I do not understand the phrase "to provide for calling forth," in so restricted a sense. He can no more employ the regular force because it is already raised, than he can the militia because they may happen at the time to be raised, embodied or standing, for the purpose of drill or discipline, or for any other special purpose. He is made commander-in-chief, it is true, but equally of the militia, as of the army and navy, and of neither, except *when called into actual*

service—called by whom? Is the President to call forth the whole force of the Union, or even the regular army and navy, at his own discretion, as President, and then place them under his control, as commander-in-chief! Assuredly the Constitution never designed to confer on him these attributes of an absolute monarch.*

Such discretionary control over the standing army, the ever ready instrument of an aspiring demagogue, would be far more dangerous than over those household troops on whom the framers of the constitution relied as the best security of a free state. The introduction of such a principle would be, it seems to me, indeed, a *new and alarming* anomaly in our system, and lead directly to the door of despotism. If the laws creating an army and navy, eked out by the constitutional provisions quoted by the Governor, can be interpreted as empowering the President, at his discretion, to carry into effect the guarantee of protection against invasion, so too must the same power exist in reference to the guarantee of a Republican form of government; for both these guarantees are embraced in the same clause and sentence. Can this be maintained? If so, at no distant day, perhaps, the standing army may be thus employed to *republicanize* the State governments of the South, on the model of the imperial democracy of France, or such as may be devised by the Black and Brown Republicans of the North.

The pretension is no less contrary to sound republican principles, than to all just reasoning; no less at war with the letter and spirit of the constitution, than with the whole current of Congressional legislation. Congress never supposed it to be in the power of the President to call forth any portion of the federal force, by virtue of his office, without their previous sanction. They provided, therefore, for all such cases of emergency as they supposed might require prompt military measures. By the act of 1795, it is *made lawful* for the President to call forth *the militia*.

1. To repel invasions of the United States by foreign nations or Indian tribes.

2. To suppress insurrections in any State against the government thereof.

3. To suppress combinations against the laws of the United States.

In all these cases remark, the language of the act is, "*it shall be lawful for the President, &c.*" His authority is confined to calling forth the *militia*, and in the last instance, is limited to the expiration of 30 days after the commencement of the next session of Congress—showing that Congress asserted the power not merely of calling the militia out, but also of recalling them to their homes. This act, let it be observed, was nearly cotemporaneous with the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

4. And by the act of 3d March, 1807, it is declared that "in all cases of insurrection or obstruction to the laws either of the United States, or of any particular State or Territory, where it is lawful for the President *to call forth the militia* for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection, or of causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ for the same purpose such part of the land or naval force of the United States as shall be judged necessary he having first observed all the prerequisites of the law in that respect.

It is a singular oversight in this act that it is not made lawful for the President to use *the regular force in any case of invasion whatever*, and still more singular that no authority is given him by any law to use any part of the military force to repel an invasion of a State by a co-State, or by citizens of the United States. The Governor tells us, "*Invasion of any State is in fact invasion of the United States;*" and so undoubtedly in many cases, possibly in all. it may be regarded. Still the act of 1807 as already said, applies to *no case of invasion whatever*, but only to insurrections, and obstructions of the laws of the land; and the act of 1795, is confined not only to invasion of *the United States*, but to *invasion by foreign nations or by Indian tribes*,

It is hardly credible that in passing laws to create an army or navy, Congress should have intended the employment of either for any such purpose as that indicated by the Governor. Had this been so, would not some allusion have been made to such use? Some restrictions imposed? Some direction given whether the federal forces should be so employed at the instance of the Governor, or of the Legislature of the State endangered, or at the discretion or mere motion of the President? Would not the character of the offence of the in-

*See Pres. Buchanan's message, quoted ante p. 7.

vaders and conspirators have been defined and their punishment prescribed? were all these things,—clearly within the province of the Legislature,—left to be provided for by an Executive Code, more out of reach than that of Draco, because locked up in the breast of the Lawgiver, and promulgated after the fact?

If then a President may exercise this tremendous power, which with a forbearance exceedingly rare in executive functionaries, Mr. Buchanan disclaims, no warrant can be found for it by express provision or just implication in any laws passed by that body, to whom the *power and duty* of effectuating the Federal guarantees, are admitted to belong.

CONSTITUTION MISCONSTRUED.

Conscious apparently of this, the Governor falls back upon the Constitution, and so numerous are the causes which he supposes to confer or sustain it, that we might be led to think it was quite a favorite scheme of the framers of that instrument. He tells us,

The President is vested with the Executive power. True, but is the power in question an executive power which can be exerted without the previous action of Congress? I have endeavored to prove the contrary.

He swears faithfully to execute his office and to preserve the Constitution. True, again, but is the power in question one held *virtute officii*? Or is it any where granted by the constitution? That remains to be proved.

He is commander-in-chief of the army, &c. when called into actual service. True, but may he call them into actual service? Demonstrably not.

He is to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. Certainly, and most especially is he to take care that he does not violate them himself by taking *unlawful* steps to enforce them.

THE GUARANTEE, STILL UNPROVIDED FOR.

I have now passed in review the strictures in the Governor's late message on the letter of the President, with my own commentary on the views of both. No feeling of a personal or party character towards either has prompted this imperfect attempt. My chief object was to vindicate my own opinions, previously published, touching the question discussed between them. Without losing sight of that object, I must confess that I have strenuously combatted the argument of the

Governor's message, not so much because in conflict with my own particular proposition touching the points in controversy, as because, they seemed to me *at war with the doctrines taught by the great Virginia statesmen of '98*; doctrines which experience as well as reason, prove essential to maintain the sovereignty of the States, and the liberties of the people.

The proposition to which I allude and have endeavored to maintain, is that *the guarantee of the United States to protect the States from invasion, has remained unprovided for from the origin of the Government to this day.* I shall leave this question on the ground, on which I endeavored to place it in my two former numbers. I endeavored to show further, that a refusal of the Northern people to concert with us of the South, prompt and efficient measures to carry into effect this VITAL PRINCIPLE of the federal compact, would be on their part, a renunciation—A WILFUL DISSOLUTION of that compact. The discussion I have attempted to review has thoroughly confirmed me in this belief. *A voluntary Union*, voluntarily abandoned by one party, ceases to be obligatory on any other. *Union by force* is an absurd and impracticable paradox.

The measures indicated, it is but too manifest, cannot safely be deferred much longer. They are required by the plighted honor of our Northern allies, as well as by their interests: indispensable to our own rights and dignity, if not to the prosperity, tranquility and safety of 'ourselves and our posterity,' so long as we and they shall recognize the obligations of our political covenant. Will not the patriotic sons of the men of '89 hasten, by deeds as well as words, to renew and re-establish that covenant, on the principles, which alone can long support an alliance between independent States—the four great pillars of FRIENDSHIP, SELF-INTEREST, GOOD FAITH, AND JUSTICE.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 5. (Whig 26th Jan. 1860.)

FEDERAL GUARANTEES—NORTHERN NULLIFICATION—CAN THE UNION BE PRESERVED?

The midnight invasion of the sixteenth of October, could not fail to create in Virginia intense excitement. This was kept up, and if possible, increased by daily reports, some of them seemingly authentic,

of plots hatching in the North and North-west, to wrest the felon chief and his murderous gang from the hands of justice. That such an attempt was meditated, no one doubts; it was frustrated by the timely measures of the State and Federal authorities so effectually, that all serious apprehension had ceased before the guilty wretches had paid the forfeit of their crimes. The public mind was now turned throughout the Union to the political consequences likely to result from the attitude, almost as unexpected as the event alluded to, in which, ever since its occurrence, the Northern and Southern sections of the Union had stood towards each other. Strange to say, the lawless invasion of a sister State, and the murder of her unoffending citizens, with the avowed purpose of exciting civil and servile rebellion, and not merely abolishing slavery, but subverting the State government, was greeted by sympathizing thousands in the North, by a factious press, and an anti-christian pulpit, as pious and chivalric deeds; convicted thieves and murderers were metamorphosed into heroes and saints, and the gallows held more worthy of reverence than the Cross. The residue of the population, for the most part, preserved an unbroken silence, giving a tacit encouragement, or to say the least, manifesting a cool indifference to this unexampled outrage. No wonder the Southern people should consider their Northern allies as all infected, in a greater or less degree, with the same morbid and deadly feelings, and should resolve, as it were, with one indignant voice, on a severance of all political connection with them.

It was in this state of things I ventured to call public attention to the fact previously unnoticed, and if known to any, certainly not to me untill by the late startling events to examine into our defences, that legislative provisions, although indispensable to the protection of the States against invasion as stipulated in the 4th article of the Federal Constitution, had never been made. The zealous maintenance of a different opinion shortly after, by Governor Wise, seemed to require that I should retract or defend my own views. Fully satisfied on further reflection that they were correct, I have since reviewed the whole question, including the concurrent opinion of the President and the opposite one of the Governor.

Other views open before me of profound

and abiding interest to our Old Commonwealth. Where all are concerned, all may speak. In civil contests, which threaten the safety of the State, we do not wholly rely on the regular army of politicians: still less on the trainbands of party. The militia are called forth; every citizen is allowed to volunteer; nor will the aid of any, though aspiring no higher than to serve in the ranks, be rejected. Hence I feel encouraged to offer mine, humble as it is, trusting that the will may be taken for the deed.

Whether the great body of the Northern people entertain towards us sentiments of hostility incompatible with the continuance of our political alliance—as their recent conduct has led many to suspect—is a problem yet to be solved. However, this may be, the momentous question still engrosses, and must long occupy the thoughts of every Virginian, to what measures can Virginia have recourse consistently with her own honor and the continuance of the Union, to guard against unceasing insults and wrongs no longer to be endured?

PROPOSITIONS MAINTAINED.

To pave the way for such reflections as occur to my own mind, I will recapitulate the propositions already advanced. They may be thus briefly stated:

That the obligation of the United States to protect the several States against invasion applies to invaders from every quarter, and of every description.

That positive and unequivocal as that obligation is, the framers of the Constitution contemplated subsequent provisions by Congress as indispensable to its due fulfilment.

That no such provisions have ever been made.

That consequently no authority is vested in the President to carry the stipulated guarantee into effect.

And lastly, *That if the opinion attributing full authority to the President were better founded than it is, the disclaimer of that authority, by the President himself, is tantamount to its non-existence.* No jurist conversant with the Constitution and laws of the United States: no dispassionate inquirer, I dare believe, will dissent from these conclusions.

What, then, is to be done to prevent

the possible repetition of scenes similar to those of the 16th of October? Will our confederates atone for their violated faith, and redeem their solemn pledges? Will exiled "*justice*" be recalled?—" *Domestic tranquility*" take place of domestic feuds? May we hope that "*The Union*" itself, coeval with our political independence, and which our fathers fondly strove to make *more perfect*, now dismantled by lawless brigands and sacrilegious bigots, will withstand their increasing rage and secure henceforward "*the blessings of liberty to us and our posterity!*"

For one, I am not willing to abandon all hope that the Union may yet be preserved; still less to conclude with not a few of our intelligent politicians, that its immediate dissolution is our sole resource. But it is apparent that the prospect of its continuance on terms of reciprocal respect and friendship, (and the union of independent States on any other terms can never be durable) hourly becomes more gloomy. Indeed—and I say it with a heavy heart—the hope of preserving it in its *present form*, consistently with our rights and our honor, is with me, all but extinguished.

Waving at this time the discussion of such measures, defensive or retaliatory, as Virginia may ultimately be forced to adopt, let us calmly inquire whether the Federal Government and the Northern States, can or will afford us the redress we are entitled to exact at their hands.

THE WRONGS.

The chief wrongs of which we complain, are,

First, the failure of the United States to provide for the fulfilment of their obligation to protect the several States from invasion.

Secondly, the nullification, by the people and States of the North of the laws and Constitution of the Union relative to fugitive slaves.

Thirdly, the denial of the equal rights of the South in the common territory.

WHAT REMEDY AGAINST INVASION.

Let us in the first place consider what redress can the United States offer to Virginia for their omission to provide for the stipulated protection.

The answer seems sufficiently obvious. Indemnification, as far as possible, for all

injuries sustained in consequence of that omission, and full provision for the performance of their duty in future.

How should this provision be made? I have already suggested, (without going into details,) by the interpolation of a few words in the act prohibiting hostile enterprises against foreign nations; simply inserting, after enumerating the *nations, territories, &c.*, against which such hostile enterprises are prohibited, the words "*or against any State of the Union, or the inhabitants thereof.*" That such a provision, or one more suitable, with adequate sanctions, and with incidental authority in the President, to use the militia, and standing army, as in the acts of 1795 and 1807, will be made by Congress, if required by the State, I can hardly doubt. The protection voluntarily given to foreign nations, cannot be denied to political associates entitled to it under a plain covenant. Virginia, should she design to claim it, will beg no favor; she will demand a right; and she may proudly point to her own statute, which long before she signed the bond of Union, partially suspending the exercise of her sovereign rights—extended protection to a neighboring people against the hostile enterprises of her own.*

PROBABLE INEFFICIENCY OF FEDERAL PROTECTION.

But is it in the power of the General Government to render such a law efficacious? Here is one of the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory adjustment. Popular prejudices often annul the plainest and wisest laws. Should the contemplated emergency arise, requiring military forces to repel or suppress it, what forces shall be employed? *Militia* or *regulars*? If *militia*, from what quarter? The natural answer would be in the words of the act of 1795, from that "*most convenient to the place of danger, or scene of action.*" But that, unless the call be confined to the State endangered—is precisely the quarter from which the danger itself would most probably come, or be apprehended. The late inroad at Harper's Ferry is a case in point. Could Virginia or Maryland have relied on the militia of the neighboring States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, in which were engendered and harbored, not merely the exe-

*Note. Sec 11th Hen. Stat. at Large, p. 471, and Rives' Life of Madison, p. 590.

crable wretches whose ignominious fate has in some measure expiated their crimes, but the tens of thousands not less execrable, who aided or approved their nefarious enterprise? No; such militia of the vicinage would most probably have consisted in part of a piebald mixture of Black Republicans and Brown monomaniacs, numerous enough to infect every regiment, and ready to fan the flames they were sent to extinguish. Save us from such friends!

Say, then, we are offered *the standing army*. If raised and officered in infected districts—(and what region of the North is not full of pestilence?)—the same objection would apply. The Federal army would most probably *fraternise* with the Black Republicans, as the government troops of France did with the Red ones of Paris, and turn their arms against us.

What then? Shall a special force be recruited and officered in Virginia, or in other Southern States, at the charge of the General Government, and placed under the control of the State authorities? *One or the other—Southern militia, or Southern regulars*—can alone be trusted to defend the South.

But suppose such special force provided:—what a constant source of reproach and irritation to the people of the North! What an anomaly in the history of Unions! What in fact would it be but the resumption or exercise by the Southern States of the power "*to keep armies in time of peace or war*"—with a view "*to engage in war*" with their confederates!"

Something, I trust, better than I can suggest will be devised for the security of the South against Northern crusaders, should it be apprehended that another Brown will find followers to share with him the glories of the new cross. I confess, however, that I am not among those who believe that the present generation will witness a repetition of the experiment of the sixteenth of October. Little less were the people of Virginia amazed to learn that the national arsenal at Harper's Ferry had on that night been seized, and citizens of the town and neighborhood waylaid at their doors and murdered in the streets by brigands from adjoining States, than they would have been if told that both arsenal and town had been upturned from their foundations by a tornado, or buried by lava from some neigh-

boring volcano never dreamt of before. Less cause than ever have we to expect a similar irruption. The gibbet is a stern avenger. Terrible is death when he strikes at life in the full glow of health. Tenfold more terrible when standing beside the hangman on the drop, he awaits his victim already goaded by the stings of a guilty conscience. The blood of the martyr, it is true, may be the seed of the church. The pious believer who welcomes the crown of thorns, rather than abjure his faith in Him "whose mission on earth was PEACE," looks to a crown of glory in a better world;—but the writhings of the conscience-stricken thief or murderer beneath the gallows, in full view of a heavier doom, are not likely to make many proselytes; or else the laws, divine and human, to punish murder and theft, would defeat their own ends. No; the scenes of October will not be soon repeated. Advents, like that of Saint John of The Ferry, must be "few and far between." We may trust that the delusion which for half a century has afflicted so many of our unhappy brethren, has reached its acme, and that a lucid interval will succeed, of at least corresponding duration.

SELF DEPENDENCE.

But if deceived in this, if another band of Northern barbarians shall ever approach our border, why let them come; and should Virginia again be "thrown on her self-defence," let it be as a *sovereign and independent State*, absolved from all connection with treacherous allies, and eschewing all compacts with them for the future, as she would shun (to borrow the typical language of those who speak, perhaps, from experience,) "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Sufficient for that day will be the evil thereof. But were the apprehension of another invasion of Brownists the only obstacle, the Union might still stand unshaken for ages, notwithstanding the failure of the United States to give us the promised protection. It is true, that the violation of so important a feature of the Federal Constitution would leave us the option of cancelling the entire contract. But that protection, surely, which was left for seventy years unprovided for before it was missed, and which may be as little needed for seventy years to come; which, on the only occasion when it might have been useful, was not called for; and

which Virginia may still disdain to ask; can hardly be regarded as of sufficient moment to require immediate separation. Not only is the danger too remote, but should it ever be realized, Virginia may resume that right of self-defence which, to some extent, she yielded in consideration of the promise of federal protection. She has ample means of her own—the sole means on which she can safely rely—to defend herself against all enemies who come within her reach.

But it is not enemies sent from the camp of our allies, to lie in ambush and spring upon us in the dead hour of night; it is the master spirits behind who urge them on, and who, keeping themselves out of harm's way, hurl their poisoned missiles from a distance; the men, who too long have swayed the councils of the Northern States, and to a great extent those of the Union; who boldly avow the Jesuitical creed, that their ends, atrocious as they are, justify means as atrocious. and quote a law from their own dark bosoms, absolving them from their oaths and compacts: who deny us a just participation in the common domain: confiscate our property, they stand pledged to restore; instigate their mobs to pillage and assassinate the citizens of the South, not only at their own homes, but when entitled to the rites of hospitality among themselves, and with whose representatives they sit side by side in halls dedicated to peace and friendship; men whose faith is perfidy, and with whom the pretence of friendship would be sheer hypocrisy; it is these, more than the crazy worshippers of their sainted ally; these worst enemies, not of the South only, but of the land which gave them birth, whose restless machinations endanger the stability of the Union and the peace of all. Will not the great body of the Northern people hurl these conspirators from the seats they dishonor, and come to the rescue of the Constitution and the laws?

January 17th, 1860. J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South---No. 6.

February 1860.

It would be presumptuous, in the last degree, to set up any pretensions to originality in the treatment of a theme which engrosses the thoughts of every intelligent mind. But, knowing that these occasional papers can give no trouble to any, unless voluntarily incurred, and hoping

they may possibly lead those who may read them, to a more thorough investigation and sounder conclusion, I continue the task I have undertaken of exposing the injuries and examining the defences of the South. There are occasions when the old maxim may be reversed, and when it is better to be reproached for speech, than taxed for silence—better to give a groundless alarm than omit a timely warning.

THE PERILS OF THE COUNTRY—AND THEIR TRUE SOURCE.

The cry of danger, I am aware, may be so often repeated, that the warnings even of inspired Prophecy may come to be as little regarded as the idle croakings of the raven. *Nevertheless*, that our country and her institutions are greatly imperilled, is a fact, and one too so emn to pass unheeded. True, it may be said, the same alarm has been sounded for years; *nevertheless*, danger exists, and has been advancing with ceaseless strides, till now "his form of Giant mould" is in our midst—attested by deeds of blood. The first blow has been struck—aimed by a traitorous conspiracy at the vitals of our ancient Commonwealth—and felt in every fibre by the States of the South, whose ruin it was equally designed to accomplish. The blood-stained actors, stern justice has consigned to deaths of infamy; the prime movers yet unharmed—"may profit by their example."

Let us pause a moment to ponder on the condition to which a land blessed by Heaven "with every precious gift," has been brought by the wickedness of man. How comes it to pass that a civilized people—inhabiting contiguous States—having the same origin, language and religion—fitted as well by diversity of pursuits and products, as by position, for amicable and profitable intercourse—whose sires, plighted comrades in arms against a common oppressor, bequeathed to them bright examples of every virtue, and the blessings of Liberty, Union and Peace—how comes it that still such a people, who thus triply banded together,

"Have sprung at once to giant size, in arts
And arms, towering above their sluggish elders,"

should now—forgetful of their solemn covenants—*now*—in the fall glow of prosperity, and bidding fair to outgrow in wealth, numbers and dominion, all the nations of the globe—be found inspired

by implacable hate on the one hand, and revenge on the other, ready to sunder all the ties which bind them, and "let slip the dogs of war." How comes it above all, that the aggressors should be found in States chief gainers by the Federal Union? States whose plains, comparatively sterile, have been made to smile with painted cottages and marble mansions, with busy workshops, and thriving villages, and magnificent cities; and whose thrifty laborers and artisans have been fed and clothed and enriched, mainly through means of a gainful traffic with the tillers of a kindlier soil, against whom they wage unprovoked hostilities! Whence comes this? Who are they have brought these calamities upon themselves, their brethren and their country? *The traitors are as manifest as the treason.*

When the future historian shall record the troubles and dissensions of our day, which have at length resulted in the invasion of Virginia, and the murder of her sons beneath her own roof, not on her fair name will he rest the stigma; nor will he lay the guilt chiefly on the unlettered banditti who assailed her domicile—he will point to the leaders of that *dark faction* which, to a great extent wield the political power of the North.

Let it not be said this is the outpouring of Southern wrath and prejudice. We may appeal to the thousands and tens of thousands of their own brethren—amongst them their most eminent and honored statesmen,—who portray their principles and motives in colors as black as the name they bear or the cause they espouse.*

*NOTE.—SENATOR DOUGLAS identifies the Black Republican and Abolition parties, pronouncing them *sectional in their organization, principles and policy*, and affirming that their arguments are all "addressed to Northern ambition, and directed against the Southern people and their institutions."

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, a representative from Ohio, referring to the distracted state of the country, declares it as his "deliberate and most solemn judgment that there is but one way of escape, and that, the immediate disbandment of this sectional, anti-slavery Republican party."

An Ex-Attorney General of the United States, GENERAL CUSHING, formerly a representative in Congress, openly in Faneuil Hall proclaimed that *all the political influences dominant in Massachusetts were founded "on the single emotion of hate!"*—"hate, treacherous, ferocious, fiendish hate"—and that *the sword of John Brown, dripping with the blood of Doyle and Wilkinson and their children—inoffensive, peaceful, slumbering men and children—"came from the State of Massachusetts."*

EX-PRESIDENT PIERCE declares, that those who approve the acts of treason and murder, perpetrated

But why call for proofs? "By their own tongues are they condemned?" The sentiments they avow are revolting to honor, justice and humanity—"full of insurrection, treason and murder"—and such are *the fruits by which we know them.*

Under the purest of religious systems, whosoever conceiveth a sinful wish or purpose, hath already committed that sin in his heart. In the code of morals, all men of sound mind are accountable for the obvious or probable consequences of their own acts. Not the instigators or aiders only of robbery and assassination, but the inciters and approvers are—in *their hearts*—robbers and assassins. What was it, but the subtle and jesuitical dogmas of the mock Republicans; their "Irrepressible Conflict" and "Higher Law," which perverted the judgments and corrupted the hearts of John Brown and his confederate felons? Tell us not, they are but the abstract principles of Republicanism. They are abstract principles taught *with an eye to practical results*; sustained by the public opinion and practice, and enforced by the unconstitutional statutes of all the States in which the teachers and their disciples constitute the dominant political faction. Call them abstract principles if you will—fully carried out, they lead inevitably to scenes like those enacted at Harper's Ferry by converts who sealed their faith with their blood.

NORTHERN NULLIFICATION—IDENTITY OF BLACK REPUBLICANS AND ABOLITIONISTS.

And in this connection, I come, now to consider,

Secondly, the nullification by the people and States of the North, of the Laws and Constitution of the Union relative to fugitive slaves.

It has been shown that we have the best authority for holding up the authors of these measures as the worst enemies of the South and of the Union. John Brown's practical exposition of Black Republican principles, though more thorough, was not more *lawless* than their own, as exemplified

in Virginia, "are not the most dangerous enemies of the Constitution and Union. Subtle, crafty men, who, passing by duties and obligations, habitually appeal to sectional prejudices and passions, by denouncing the institutions of the South, and thus inflame the Northern mind, &c., who, under plausible pretenses, &c. pass local laws to evade constitutional obligations, are really and truly, whether they believe it or not, the men who are hurrying us upon swift destruction."

fied in the adoption of those measures and in the proceedings under them.

Without attempting any detailed account of the nullifying statutes of the North, let me, by way of illustration, refer to a single instance: The law of Vermont declares that *no person* shall be considered as *property*, nor subject as such to sale, purchase, or delivery; that *every person* who may have been held as a slave, who shall come, or be brought into that State, *shall be free*; and that whoever shall hold him in slavery for any time, *however short, shall be imprisoned not LESS than one, nor more than FIFTEEN YEARS*. Now, it is undeniable that the Federal Constitution, (Art. IV., Sec. 2,) requires the *delivery of every person* [slave or freeman] *bound to service in one State, who may escape into another*. The 6th article, moreover, requires that the members of the State Legislatures shall be bound by *oath or affirmation to support the Constitution*. The members of the Vermont Legislature, doubtless, went through the usual ceremony, and consequently, in voting for the law above referred to, *falsified their oaths*.—But this is a small matter; false swearing is no perjury and “killing no murder” according to the most approved commentators on the “higher law”—all that I mean now to insist on, is that the Vermont statute is *unconstitutional and void*; and the practice under it *as unlawful* as the outrages at Harper’s Ferry. The dominant faction, it is true, profess to respect our rights within our own bounds, and disavow the ultra doctrines, as they term them, of their abolition allies. But these co-laborers in the same holy cause must not be permitted to part company. The attempted distinction is a poor subterfuge, a distinction without a substantial difference. It is the difference between the wholesale and retail dealer in crime; between the petty larceny of coppers, and the robbery of a Bank. The rescue of a fugitive slave in Vermont or Kansas, is as absolutely prohibited as that of slaves in Virginia from the possession of their owners; the unlawful rescue or liberation of one slave, as of a thousand. The Constitution is not bounded by Mason & Dixon’s line, and the clause requiring the *delivery* of all persons “held to service” was *specially* designed to operate in the Northern States and territories of the Union.

The States—the very people, who, misled by the ultra-federal doctrines of Liv-

ingston and Webster, were ready, with Jackson at their head, to put their brethren of South Carolina to the sword, for threatening to oppose an oppressive, not to say unconstitutional tariff, now confiscate the property of the South, in open defiance of an undisputed constitutional guarantee. No excuse will they allow for resisting unjust or illegal taxation, contrived to put money into the purse of the North, at the expense of the South; but the disappointed thirst of Southern gold is to be slaked in Southern blood. No opposition to Federal law is lawful, unless it be to oppress and rob the South. Nullification South of Mason & Dixon is a crime;—North, a virtue. It is plain that the Federal Constitution is no longer a shield to defend, but a sword in the hands of our *allies* to destroy us.

The Black Republicans, then, and the Abolitionists, are justly identified. The banner of a once respected party, perfidiously hoisted by the one, floats side by side with the black flag of the other.—They are both animated by the same faith which inspired the saint of Ossawatimie; their measures and doctrines lead to the same results; they stand with him on the same platform of orthodox anti-slavery principles—and equally deserve similar passports to martyrdom and immortality. “Lovely and pleasant in their lives,” let them not in death be divided. If there be any difference in guilt between them, impartial justice will award the “bad eminence,” rather to the learned teachers, than to their deluded converts; rather to the craven and perjured leaders, who lagged behind, than to the bold, unsworn rebels who perilled life and lost it.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 7.

(*Whig 29 Feb. 1860.*)

SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

We cannot have the truth too deeply impressed on our minds, that both the anti-slavery sects of the North stand on one and the same unsound platform. There is no difference in principle, between infringements of the Federal Constitution, in one State or Territory only, and in all; between the nullifying Republican, and the nullifying Abolitionist; between the transgressor, who, plunging into a flood of guilt, would halt in the midst, and his most daring companion who dashes through.

But whatever may be the comparative grade of crime, far, far more dangerous to the peace of all, are the outrages practised and defended by the dominant sect, than the barely possible repetition of another insane invasion, by their bolder associates. If the achievements of the former be not so bloody, still they are more vexatious, because carrying with them the sanction of State authority, and leading daily to insolent aggressions. The meddling of both indeed springs from the same sources;—*Punic Faith*;—*Purblind Vanity*; who sees the mote in her neighbor's eye, but not the blood-spot in her own;—*Unchristian Piety*; whose love of the slave is but another word for "*hate—treacherous, ferocious, fiendish hate*" of the master.

NORTHERN HUMANITY.

And what is the CAUSE, so meritorious, as to justify perjury, robbery, and murder? HUMANITY! African slavery we are told, is an unmitigated evil, a sin, a crime. Its extinction, by whatever means, a solemn duty. This idea, this whimsey rather, of the sages and divines, male and female, of the North; this moral problem undemonstrated, undemonstrable; nay falsified by actual experiments—is to justify them in ruining the peace of millions, and scattering into fragments a mighty empire. Political preachers; speculating theorists, undertake to devise plans of government for a people differing from themselves in habits, opinions, pursuits and temperament. Mass-meetings of men, women and children, too much taken up with our affairs to attend to their own, and about as well informed of the practical operation of our institutions as of those of Buddha, would reform our laws and morals. A favorite Apostle;—a midnight robber and murderer, followed by two and twenty ruffians all told, including five unlettered Africans;—well armed and bearing murderous pikes for the raw recruits who were expected, at the tap of the drum, to flock to the black standard by thousands—come to Virginia to astonish the ignorant natives with the pure tenets of the anti-slavery gospel! To give us illustrations of their *humanity*—by cutting our throats in our sleep.

But I do the philosophers and pupils of both schools injustice. They do not affect humanity for their white allies of the South; it is for the oppressed African alone they set up this shallow pretence; for

shallow it is. The Black Republicans especially well know that their own scheme is utterly futile; that they could as soon ladle out the basin of the sea with a teaspoon, as extinguish African slavery by their nullifying statutes, or captures of runaway slaves. They know too, that the comparatively few they unlawfully liberate, are in the main idle and vicious; and that if they could liberate *all*, their *humanity* would be a curse far more dire than Southern slavery. *Humanity!* For a laboring class better fed and clothed, and more contented than their own, or that of any other country. *Humanity for slaves*; from whom, after they liberate them, they withhold the privileges of liberty, and in a great measure the means of subsistence;—monopolizing themselves all employments of honor and profit, and leaving the victims of their humanity.—"bound" as it were "to service" under the upper serfdom.

Almost it would seem as though these mischievous meddlers were blindly contriving to bring about,—as directly applicable to the African race,—the fulfillment of the ancient prophecy, "*Cursed be Canaan; a SERVANT OF SERVANTS shall he be to his brethren!*"

So much for African freedom, North and Northwest. Enticed by glowing pictures of its "promised joys," and the unutterable horrors of his own condition as painted by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Doctor Lucretia Mott, and other romancers a thousand miles off; amazed that he should not have known before how cruelly he had been used by being made "*in the sweat of his face*," by virtue of the thirty-nine articles of the Law of Moses, to "*eat*," not his "bread" only, but his hog and hominy, mush and molasses, cornfield peas, roasting-ears, rice, yams, &c., to say nothing of the paltry extra indulgence of Coffee and Sugar, pipes and tobacco, Banjo dances and Christmas frolics; while his fellow laborers of the North are free to starve on whiskey, or by working twice as hard, to feast on onions and codfish;—readily comprehending the A B C of Northern Philosophy, that all men are equal, and all women equal to men;—dreaming of high distinction among his Black Republican brethren—the Presidency perhaps, next after Fred. Douglas or Seward—and in the meantime a seat in the Cabinet with Sherman and Helper;—the victim of hu-

manity leaves his healthy labors and once cheerful home, where he luxuriated in abundance and sunshine—to pine away in loathsome occupations, and shiver with cold and want; to herd only with a degraded and vicious *caste*—to find the doors of his good friends,—all at least who pride themselves on their respectability,—slammed in his face; and none open to receive him but those of the kitchen and popshop; the alms-house or the jail. Out upon such hypocrisy!

Suppose that the Southern people, yielding to the persuasive tongues, or other still more persuasive weapons of the Reformers, should resolve on a general, unconditional emancipation. Four or five millions of black paupers, say, are turned loose to compete with the more numerous white paupers of the Union, native and foreign, for the means of livelihood. Would the North receive and maintain them? I suspect the Abolitionists themselves, of every class, especially of the laboring class, would demur to that. The North is already overstocked with black paupers and vagabonds, as well as white ones. Many of the Northern States, as well as their Canadian neighbors, are now groaning under the increasing annoyance of their colored brethren. No, they are very willing to emancipate our slaves at our cost, but not, I apprehend, to contribute very largely to their support. *It is not their custom.* The Higher Law does not require it.

A Southern gentleman, some years ago, visited Philadelphia, carrying with him an old slave, the nurse of his children. She was daily importuned to leave her master and enjoy the blessings of freedom.—Feigning to comply, she inquired *how she should make a living!* “Oh! we will find you employment.” “*But how if I get too old to work? Will you then support me?*” “That is not our custom; but we will have you provided for in the poor-house.”—“*Ah, well! please let me go back home to Old Virginny. I get plenty to eat, and good clothes, and have nothing to do but to mind the children: and if I get too old for that, master will never send me to the poor-house. The poor-house in Virginny is for white folks.*”

Another short illustration.

A Virginia lady visited New York, accompanied by her brother, and attended by an old woman, who had nursed her when a child. One day a Northern gen-

tleman, whose acquaintance they had made, called to see them. He whispered his surprise at the apparent familiarity of the old servant with her master and mistress, and at their calling her “*mammy.*” “Still I guess she would like to be free.” “Try her.” “Are you in earnest?” “Perfectly. We give you full permission.” “Old lady, tell me, would not you like to be free? everybody is free in New York.” “Mammy,” said her mistress, “speak your mind, you are as free here as I am.” “Ah, missis! I wish to God I was free, I’d go straight back home.” Depend upon it, the love between the Abolitionist and the slave will never cost much joy at meeting, nor many tears at parting.*

Would the Northern friends of the emancipated slaves remove them to the native home of their ancestors; to the land of Ham? *No; that would be inhuman.* Truly would it; worse—it would be *expensive*; far more expensive than letting them starve, or even providing for them, in the bleak regions of Vermont, Maine, or Canada. *Their good friends would leave them where they are.* They will tell us, and very truly, that we need their labor, and cannot do well without them. If we admit the fact, but say from our knowledge of them that they are naturally averse to labor, and require coercion, we shall be referred to the example of other nations who take the power of compulsion from the master and give it to public magistrates. This scheme, they know, has proved a failure; but if it were safely to be relied on, what is such compulsory labor but *sheer slavery*? And after all, indeed, *what else is any compulsory labor?* What the subjection of a wife, or child, or apprentice; the drudgery of menials; the services exacted from the impressed seaman, or conscript soldier—but *modified slavery*? Work out the problem as you will, ‘this complexion’ must it wear at last; and slavery, in its present or in a worse form, will continue unless the *humane* promoters of the irrepressible con-

*NOTE.—*Proof upon proof.*—I have just seen the following quotation from a Cincinnati paper of the 18th instant:

“RETURNING TO SLAVERY.—The Tecumseh yesterday took down a family of six persons—mulattoes—on their way to Helena, Arkansas, to enter again the service of their old master. They were manumitted about six years ago, since which time they have been living in New York, and now, strange as it may seem, having tasted of the sweets of liberty, voluntarily return to bondage.—*Cin. Commercial*, 13th.”

flict shall bring about the total extermination of the African race in America.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION.

I shall not attempt to discuss the half of the ruinous consequences which would ensue from carrying out the schemes of the wise men, women and children of the North—*increased competition between white and black labor; lowness of wages; high prices of cotton and tobacco, rice and sugar; bankruptcy of Northern factories; starvation of Northern operatives; depopulation of Northern cities*; worse than all, the eternity of “the irrepressible conflict”—*not between white and black, merely, but between white and white, brother and brother.*

NORTHERN INTRUSION.

Passing all this, let us ask what right have the Reformers to *judge us*? What warrant to assail as sinful *an institution once established and long continued among themselves, and promoted, if not originally planted among us by their own fathers*;^{*} *recognized by their own subsisting covenant; sanctioned by Christ and his apostles; ordained by God himself!* No man who believes the Old and New Testaments to be of divine inspiration, dare pronounce slavery a sin—if he does he denounces his Maker. I will not assert that the Africans are descendants of Ham—for ought I know Ham was a Black Republican.—His name, which is translated *Black* or *Brown*, and his apparent want of filial reverence, seem to give some color at least to the supposition. “*The curse*,” however, was denounced against his posterity, and it must be admitted that there is no race recognized as belonging to the human family more deformed in body or feeble in intellect than the natives of Africa in which Ham originally settled. The native Africans, indeed, seem, from the accounts of travellers, but a cousin-germans of Lord Monboddos original man. Even in their greatly improved condition in the Southern States, their descendants—part-

ly, perhaps, from habitual dependence on the whites, and as much or more from natural disposition—are proverbially improvident, and by no training probably can ever be made competent to govern themselves, still less to govern others.

Be this as it may, *some race* was denounced; and if any, and it be not that found in Africa, what race was it? And whether it be that or any other, the institution itself, if God ordained it, can be no sin. It is impious to say it. But if it were, whence, I repeat, do the Black Republicans derive their authority to *chastise our sins, and reform the institutions of an independent people*? Do our institutions interfere with them? Are they subject to our laws? Or do we owe them allegiance? By no means. Are they accountable for our sins? Neither to God nor to man. And cannot heaven, if it be a sin, end it or punish it in its own good time, without their aid? I am aware that they *do* allege their responsibility. While they admit that they are not accountable for our State institutions, they deem themselves, as members of the Federal Union, bound to defeat them within their own States, and in the federal territories. But this plea repudiates and annuls the federal compact. Under that compact, the right of the slave-holder to the restitution of his fugitive slave, wherever found within the limits of the Union, is undisputed—undeniable; and any opposition to its plain provisions is a penal offence even without the addition of perjury. They are no more responsible for the sins of the Federal Constitution than those of the State of Virginia, and have no greater right to annul the one than the other. Their opposition, if not required or justified by their own State, is rebellion; if so justified, it is an abandonment by the nullifying States of the federal compact, and, as before said, leaves the injured members of the confederacy a perfect claim to redress from the Federal Government; if that cannot be had, to redress from any source, or by any means they may think best.

The plea of *responsibility* is a mere subterfuge; the *means* of avoiding it, a deeper sin than that they would avoid: *a crime forbidden by the Supreme law of their own country; by the law of nations; by the law of God.* But of what avail to prove that? no law, human or divine, binds *them*; they appeal to a law and a revela-

†NOTE.—Importation of slaves was prohibited (by law) in Massachusetts in 1788. I. Laws of Mass. 407. Perhaps the Higher Law of self-interest nullified that of the State; for there was an importation certainly as late as 24th May, 1761, as appears by the following advertisement of that date:

“A parcel of hearty, likely negroes, imported the last week from Africa, to be sold. Enquire of Capt. Wickham or Mr. John Avery, at his house, near ‘the White Horse,’ in Newberry street.—See *Drake’s Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, p. 659.

tion of their own : to an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God ; assuredly not the God of the Christian, nor the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. If they cannot bend the RULER above, they appeal to the Power below.

Flectere si [nequeunt] Saperos, Acherronta [morebunt].

We of the South cannot recognize *their* revelation, nor *their* God ; we believe that oaths and compacts are binding ; and that evil should not be done that worse evils may come of it.

If the anti-slavery sectaries were truly influenced by conscientious motives, why do they resort to measures palpably unlawful, and as iniquitous and dishonorable as they are unlawful ? Instead of law-breaking and oath-breaking statutes, and bloody invasions, why do they not seek to amend the Constitution ? Let them abrogate the wicked and imperfect work of Washington, and Franklin, and Madison and Hamilton, and give us one which shall exemplify the pure doctrines and lucid hallucinations of the "latter day saints," and justify the lives and achievements of the noble army of martyrs who fought at Harper's Ferry under the banner of the new faith.

Or, failing in this, there is still another resource. Let the anti-slavery sectaries "*slide*." I venture to affirm that their *right* to do so will not be brought in question, and that they will be permitted to depart in peace—without a murmur from the South.

But I have pursued too far themes daily discussed in all their phases, in highways and by-ways, by the ignorant as well as the learned, the man of peace and the man of blood. Trite and tedious, I fear, may be much, all, perhaps, that I have said. Yet, do I not regret my humble labors. Believing it to be of the first importance to ascertain whence spring the evils which surround us, I have earnestly endeavored to trace them to their sources : to show that they do not flow from the acts or institutions of my native State, or of the South ; not from slavery, but from anti-slavery. Virginia and the South unassailed, would be as tranquil as the Pacific Ocean in a calm. It is the sectarian agitators, if we may believe those who know them best, who are raising the storm which may hurry themselves as well as us "to swift destruction:" nor will the country ever know peace while the pre-

sent constitution exists, until the "sectional antislavery Republican party" shall be "*disbanded*," and the Abolitionists *abolished*.

NORTHERN CONSERVATIVES.

In exposing the iniquity of the sectarian leaders, and the gross delusion of their ignorant followers, we must not do injustice to the sounder, and it is to be hoped, far more numerous portion of the Northern men, who are ready to respect and defend the rights of the South. Whether they will unite with us in endeavoring to devise effectual measures to restore friendly relations and preserve political connection between their people and ours, is a problem for them to solve.

MEASURES OF REDRESS.

What these measures should be, it is for the Southern people, whose security is in question—and for them alone,—to decide. Unhappily, upon that subject there seems to exist great diversity of opinion among ourselves. I candidly confess my apprehension that security is *not* to be expected from *Federal Fugitive Slave-laws*; nor *Federal statutes of protection* against a future irruption of mad crusaders—headed possibly by Gerret Smith if ever released from his strait-jacket,—nor from *State license laws*; nor from *non-intercourse, or non-importation*, total or partial; nor from *direct trade, or home manufactures*; nor from *retaliatory reprisals of property for property, or person for person*. Most of these measures seem to me more likely to fan the flame of discord than to give us security or peace ; to mortify, injure, and alienate our friends, and to embitter still more our enemies. What benefit they may promise us in a commercial or pecuniary view is a different question. As means of defence or retaliation they seem to me, one and all, calculated at most merely to palliate the evil. That evil, which should have been nipped in the bud, has grown too enormous to be removed by pruning; the more it is lopped the deeper will it strike its roots, and the more vigorously again shoot forth its branches. The remedy to be effectual must be radical.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE SOLE REMEDY.

There is but *one* remedy, I humbly conceive, which, consistently with the preservation of the Union, can place Southern rights and interests on a solid and lasting

basis; and that is *an amendment of the Federal Constitution*, which shall rescue them and us from the existing domination of the anti-slavery States, and thus check, effectually, all schemes, not merely of our present unscrupulous and implacable foes, but all combinations hereafter to injure or oppress the South. One other way may possibly be thought of—not in Virginia, I trust—of preserving the Union; *submission* to the increasing power of the Northern States, who already control the House of Representatives, the Senate and the Presidency, and through these the Army and Navy; in a word, *the whole* power, political and physical, of the Federal Government. This may possibly be dreamed of *elsewhere* as the means of peace. To us it would be the peace of death—worse than death—it would be dishonor. But submission would not bring us peace: no, not the most abject submission. We should be despised: and but the more insulted and trampled on. And we should deserve it. *Submission*—but I will say no more of that:—The word was unanimously expunged by our fathers, on the 29th day of June, 1776, and will never again be found in the lexicon of Virginia while her sons *know her rights and dare maintain them.*

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 8. (Whig 28th March 1860.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

The theme which, under many disadvantages, I have presumed, from time to time, to discuss before you, has intrinsic claims to your most serious meditation. It concerns that National Union, to which, in its true spirit, we have ever cherished “a cordial attachment.” It concerns objects still dearer to *you*—the rights and honor, the future peace, independence and welfare of our own beloved Virginia. The hour long foreseen has come at last, when these priceless blessings must be wrecked and lost, or the unprovoked injuries and insults heaped upon us must be repelled, and their recurrence prevented by some satisfactory adjustment. Such, if I do not greatly err, some short months ago, was your own settled conviction, and firm resolve: I appeal to you, people of Virginia, to confirm the fact. Have your appointed guardians fulfilled your expectations—or your wishes? The General Assembly have been deliberating for months. They have deeply

felt and resented your wrongs—uttered many a bitter word and resolute threat. But what have they *DONE*? They are about to suspend their labors for two years. What account will they render you—not of their *resolves*—but of their *ACTION*? What *measure* will they show you to right your wrongs?

APPARENT APATHY OF VIRGINIA.

No Virginian, proud of the fame of his native State and alive to her interests, can—if she is to be judged from present appearances—regard the apathy which seems to have seized upon her, without concern and mortification. The hurricane that swept throughout her bounds, from the Potomac to the Roanoke, from the Mississippi to the Chesapeake, has spent its fury, and Virginia is—*apparently, tranquil.*

Behold her amid the scenes of October! Roused from unsuspecting slumber by the tocsin from her ravaged border! her peace invaded! her domicile profaned! her children slaughtered! her utter destruction decreed! by wretches she had never wronged, nurtured in the bosom of her *friends and allies*! her heart heaving with mingled indignation and abhorrence!—*Vengeance; swift vengeance; redress for the past; prompt, thorough, ample security for the future!* *Failing these, instant abrogation of all compacts with faithless allies!* This was the voice of our mother. It sounded from the Capitoline Hill; from the very presence of her Washington and Jefferson, her Henry and her Mason; and it was echoed, and re-echoed, from every mountain and valley throughout her broad domain. The son who did not respond was a renegade! But now, *Virginia is tranquil.* What drowsy syrup has medicined her to this profound repose? Has the war against her institutions been ended? Have the statutes abrogating her rights been rescinded? Has any guarantee been obtained for the protection of her peace and property? Or has a change come over the spirit of her dream? Can it be that this seeming lethargy betokens the sinking pulses of a heart that never quailed? No, it is a false semblance, reflected from the mirror of party: or, shall we not rather hope the pause of steadfast resolution, which beholding in the quarter whence fly the poisoned arrows of hatred and malice, a host of friends, is slow to strike for redress,—trusting that *they* will.

prove true to the ties of ancient faith, and aid in crushing a common enemy who seeks shelter behind them.

But the forbearance which endangers the honor or liberty of a people, is no virtue. How long is Virginia to sleep upon her rights? It is time she should be roused from this unnatural slumber. Longer continued, while her adversaries are fast weaving their web around her, it will end in the sleep of death.

Let us look our danger in the face, and inquire what has been done to secure our rights from future violation.

MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE VIRGINIA EXECUTIVE.

And first let us turn to the steps recommended or approved by our late and present Governors. I will state them in the briefest form, without comment:

I. The organization and arming of the militia.

II. A special mission to the Northern States, to insist on the repeal of their statutes obstructing the execution of the fugitive slave law.

III. A convention of all the States to amend the Federal Constitution, and settle our controversies, on a "SATISFACTORY BASIS."

IV. ACTION in place of "resolves."

V. "DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT" instead of "temporising measures."

VI. Such legislation as would foster direct trade, and domestic manufactures.

To these I may add, though not specially recommended:

VII. A conference with the Southern States.

Of these various recommendations, not one, except the first and two last, seems to have attracted special notice from the Legislature.

One and all, I believe, they commanded the approbation of the State. The sentiment seems so have been well-nigh unanimous—that there should be henceforth and forever *an end to Northern aggression, or Southern submission.*

LEGISLATIVE ACTION.

Convened at a moment of unexampled excitement, Virginia still bleeding from the blow aimed at her peace and her life, it was doubted by none that the General Assembly would promptly demand that **DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT** which the First Magistrates and the people of the Commonwealth earnestly urged. They are

now on the eve of going back to their constituents—*re-infecta*:

No **DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT** obtained or demanded;

No Mission—not even an appeal to the North;

No convention of the States proposed for amending the Constitution;

No conference with the South;

These are the things they have left undone. *What have they done?*

1. They have honestly and generously paid for the invasion of our State, against which the United States had stipulated to protect us.

2. They have protested against the election of Sherman, the patron of Helper, as Speaker of the House of Representatives; and the House so far respected their protest as to elect—not Sherman exactly—but Sherman's patron and supporter.

3. They have given us an elaborate *Report* on the border outrage, with a catalogue of others, enough, to use the language of a prominent member, "to make a Virginian's blood boil," concluding with the Resolution to arm the militia, to promote direct trade with foreign countries, and domestic manufactures.

4. They have since appropriated half a million of dollars for arming the militia and manufacturing arms.—And this—*had any step been taken or proposed that could possibly lead to a rupture*—would doubtless merit the approbation of all. But, I must say, *so long as the controversy remains, on our part, in the condition in which it is apparently about to be left by them*, this half million might as well perhaps have been left in the pockets of the people. Such an expenditure at least—*supposing it to be the sole measure of resistance or redress*—was at no former period since the formation of the Union more utterly unnecessary. I know that the General Assembly and the State will ever be ready to defend our rights, and the day may *possibly* come when arms may be needed for that purpose. But, nobody expects Virginia to declare war or make war upon the North; and *while she submits*, the North will certainly wage no other war against her, than the petty plunder it has been carrying on for many years past. Unless Gerrit Smith should be turned loose upon us in a *lunatic interval*, there is as little danger of an invasion from the North as from Canada or Mexico.

A momentary glance at our legislative proceedings will satisfy all, that *nothing has been done* by Virginia to change the aspect of our present amicable relations with the Northern people!

We have not taken the *first step* towards a DEFINITE SETTLEMENT. There is no offence in that.

We have not required nor requested the repeal of their nullifying laws. There is no offence in that.

We have asked for no Convention of States to check Abolition robberies or murders. There is no offence in that.

We have waived all claim, so far, to Federal protection or indemnity. There is no offence in that.

We have laid the non-intercourse scheme on the table. They must be thankful for that.

They might have taken umbrage, possibly, at our hospitable reception of the Southern Commissioners; but, after feasting them magnificently, we have—*shown them the door*. The whole North must be delighted at that.

They may possibly look with a suspicious eye at our expenditure of half a million of dollars for arming our militia. We may hope they will—and that it may prevent them from goading us to the ultimate point of endurance; a *possible case*—appearances to the contrary, notwithstanding. In the meantime, should we adopt the “system of commercial and manufacturing independence,” there may be full use for all our idle arms and surplus funds, in furnishing and manning revenue cutters and military *cordons*, to restrain our own disaffected citizens, in Thayer’s colony or elsewhere, from illicit intercourse with our adversaries.

And this brings me to the only remaining measure of redress proposed by the General Assembly.

5th. The bill “making regulations concerning special licenses.”

This seems to have been regarded by its chief patron as a full remedy for all our ills; the great measure for the times; one which would bring the North “to the feet of the Old Dominion as suppliants for favors;” and supersede all necessity for Southern conferences, Northern missions, or DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENTS.

PROPOSITION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

To pave the way for its unimpeded passage, the proposition for a Southern conference, which was viewed, strangely

enough, as an inimical or rival project, was spurned aside with marked severity and contempt. The patron of the new policy tells us, *he most earnestly desires the co-operation of the South*. The joint committee of twenty-two leading members, of whom he was one, and who, he informs us, *unanimously recommended the principle of non-intercourse*, as *unanimously*, I presume, *invited* “the co-operation of our sister States of the South” in carrying it out. Yet, the proposal of a sister State to confer on *all* the means of Southern defence against Northern aggression—a proposal as respectful—nay, as deferential—as was ever made by one Sovereign State to another;—sanctioned by the approbation, there can be little doubt, of a great majority of the people in every Southern State, including Virginia—approved by our late Chief Magistrate—and pleading our own example—is in our Legislative Hall, to the infinite delight of our adversaries, and the mortification of our friends, derided as “silly,” and vehemently assailed as “*revolutionary*.” We are told that *if we call for a conference, we shall be* “under some moral obligation to respect its decision.” To *respect it*, certainly—if not “silly.” But by no means to *adopt it*, if injurious to Virginia; that would be, not a moral obligation, but moral treachery.

“If we refuse,” it is said, “the argument will be—you *throw off all the Southern States and irritate them into disunion*.” So, to avoid irritating them, we throw them off at once; turn a deaf ear to their friendly offer, and tell them it is “silly;” of “little value” *to the system*, and “on other subjects, may be dangerous and mischievous, if it shall be more than ridiculous.”

But “South Carolina, we are told, regards disunion as the present remedy”—“she asks for a conference to debate disunion.” Whatever may be the opinion of South Carolina, as to the ultimate result, she certainly does not propose disunion as a present remedy. The language of her Commissioner, quoted to sustain the charge, utterly refutes it. He plainly points out the course to *be expected* from the Conference. “They will require,” he says, “a restoration of the Constitution, and the perfect equality of the Southern States.” Say to the North:—“*Repeal at once all your enactments against the just rendition of our slaves—break up*

your underground railroads; perform towards us your Constitutional obligations, and restore to us all those rights which the Constitution guarantees to us." "The South must have equality in the Union, or she will seek independence out of it."

The Harper's Ferry Report, the recommendations of our Chief Magistrates, the united voice of our people, proclaim the same sentiments.

Again, it is said, "George Washington tells us, it (disunion) is a question not to be debated."

George Washington is made the great stalking-horse of politicians of every complexion:—Ins and outs, Whig and Democrat, Unionist and Disunionist; even the Black Republican and the Red Abolitionist, use him for their purpose.

When did George Washington say that disunion, or any other question involving the destinies of the country, should not be debated? Certainly not since the 16th of October, 1859. If his injunctions apply to these times, they have been disobeyed by every man capable of speech and reflection, daily and hourly,—at our fireside gatherings—our social unions—our primary political assemblies—our public councils. No! George Washington loved, as does every Southern patriot, the Union, *ordained*; by the national compact; by that compact as it came from the hands of Washington himself; of Franklin, and Madison; of Hamilton and the Pinckneys, and old Roger Sherman, and old Daniel Carroll; not the blurred and blood-spotted copy forged by Seward, and studied by Phillips, and John Brown, and Helper;—the Union as it *was*, not as it *is*. In saying this, I do but repeat the interpretation placed on Washington's language by the committee of 22, of which the author of the new system was himself a member.—Referring to that language, they say that *the Union they have been taught to revere is the Union contemplated by the Constitution; and that when it shall cease to be such a Union, it will have FORFEITED ALL CLAIMS TO THEIR RESPECT AND AFFECTION*. Did the Delegate from Culpeper dissent from this report? Or, if not, how comes it that he has not only debated the question, but *countenanced the suggestion of a suspicion*, that the Union might forfeit all claims to our respect and affection? Why, his whole argument is a discussion, directly or indirectly, of this *undebateable* question; an attempt to prove that a dissolution may be

avoided by avoiding a Southern conference, and—by carrying on a systematic war of retaliation, to bring our Northern adversaries "to the feet of the Old Dominion." No—Let not the hallowed name of Washington—who, after long and earnest debates by the Old Thirteen, led the way—not only to disunion, but open revolution—ever be invoked to sanctify oppression, or teach submission.

Thirteen colonies rose in arms against the mother country—against a government and people who had never manifested hatred, or practiced oppression towards them equal to that endured for years from the Northern States:—a government and people, indeed, for whom we professed and felt, almost to the day of separation, more respect and attachment than, unhappily, the Southern people are at this day permitted to feel for their brethren of the North. I appeal to the facts of history; to the heart in every Southern bosom.

But if South Carolina is to be chided for not foreseeing, and proclaiming, in advance, her adhesion to this all-sufficing scheme of non-intercourse what is to be said of our own General Assembly, who, after mature consideration, have laid it asleep?—Or of the great commercial class of our State who were to gather for themselves, and confer on the State, the rich fruits of this new scheme, and who so earnestly pray to be spared from their share of its blessings? The scheme, had it succeeded, might possibly have brought our adversaries to the feet of the Old Dominion; the very dread of it has already brought our own citizens to the feet of our General Assembly.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 9.

(April, 1860.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

One of the modes of redress recommended to the attention of the General Assembly by the present Governor, as already mentioned, was,

A CONVENTION OF ALL THE STATES, under the 5th Article of the Federal Constitution.

This proposition shared the fate of every other suggested for a definitive settlement. But although stifled by the General Assembly beneath the prodigious mass of local and private schemes for depleting the State Treasury, it is one of transcendent interest to your future welfare, and

will command, I trust, your fullest consideration. The South Carolina Commissioner alludes to it as one properly to be preceded by a conference of the Southern States—very properly, no doubt, yet not necessarily; since in a Convention the Southern States would have a voice, and could shape their course in concert.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES—THEIR IMPORTANCE.

The Governor suggests no specific amendments. His objects, however, as briefly explained by him, merit the approbation of every friend to the South—of every true friend to the Union. In allusion to his recommendation, Mr. Memminger admits that there are *guarantees*, "which, if added to the Constitution, might restore to the South its equality in the Union." He specifies two—a *dual executive*, and a *division of the Senate into two chambers*. The former was suggested by Mr. Calhoun—the latter more than two years ago, and again more recently, the writer of this address ventured to present to your notice. In urging it, I endeavored to show that an amendment had become indispensable. My proposition in substance was:

That there is but ONE constitutional measure—if there be *one*—capable of placing the rights, interests and liberties of the Southern States on a solid basis, consistently with the honor of all parties, and with the preservation of the Union; and that is, *such an amendment of the Federal Constitution as shall insure the due execution of the stipulations for Southern protection, contained in the 2d and 4th sections of the 4th Article; guarantee to the South a proportional enjoyment of the Federal territory, and an equality of political power in the administration of Federal affairs; or at least such a share of that power as shall effectually check the overruling and increasing DOMINATION OF THE NORTH.*

I contended that the infallible consequence of NORTHERN SUPREMACY, unless arrested by a timely amendment of the Constitution, would be the VIRTUAL SUBJECTION OF THE SOUTH;—that these are indeed merely convertible propositions. The political supremacy of one or more States over others, necessarily implies the subordination of the latter;—in effect makes them *provinces*; and if there exist between the *governing* and the *governed* States, differing domestic institutions,

clashing interests and hostile feelings, constitutes a tyranny.

In urging this upon you, and suggesting what I conceived to be the best and simplest form of amendment, I make no claim to originality:—though I do not remember to have ever previously met with the same or similar views. That some amendment of the fundamental articles of the Union is essential to the security of the South:—and hence to the continuance of the Union itself,—must doubtless have occurred to the minds of many who have carefully noted the workings of our Federal and State machinery. A screw is loose:—evidently. The equipoise has been disturbed;—a one-sided motion, generated by the increased and rapidly increasing weight of Northern power; and unless a new balance wheel can be supplied, this undue action must, of necessity, be augmented until the machine itself shall fall to pieces, or all resistance on the opposite side be overcome. Looking to the present political relations of the States, the supremacy of the North, and consequent subjection of the South, would seem to be rather propositions of fact than of conjecture or speculation.—The covenant of Union has been and is daily broken:—in its essential provisions annulled:—and the South, is at this moment *politically, and practically* SUBJUGATED. The power "to dictate the whole policy of the Federal Government" has passed since the admission of California, permanently to the North—to the hands, if the Great Prophet of the irrepressible conflict is to be credited, of *his* followers,—the pseudo-Republicans; who, he tells us are "a majority in the North, and therefore, practically, the people of the North;"—of men who hate us—of a faction morally responsible in the judgment of those who know them for "The Harper's Ferry crime.*"

Is it compatible with the honor, the rights, and the interests of the South, that

*Senator Douglas recently held this language: "I have no hesitation in expressing my firm and deliberate conviction that the Harper's Ferry crime was the natural, logical, inevitable result of the doctrines and teachings of the Republican party, as explained and enforced in their platform, their partizan presses, their pamphlets and books, and *especially in the speeches of their leaders in and out of Congress.*" Again: "The great principle that underlies the organization of the Republican party is violent, irreconcilable, eternal warfare upon the institution of American slavery, with the view of its ultimate *extinction.*"

this state of things, daily growing worse by reason of the increasing ascendancy of the North, should be endured, without some effort to regain our lost equality? A little attention to the social and political relations between us and our Northern allies, will satisfy you that some speedy and decisive movement on our part, is indispensably necessary to save or relieve us from a slavish and disgraceful destiny.

HOSTILE ACTS OF NORTHERN STATES.

In adverting to these relations, I design to cast no censure on that portion of the Northern people—a majority I would fain hope—who are still friendly in their feelings and faithful to their pledges. I shall lay before you some of the public acts of their State authorities, chiefly the work of that crafty and malignant party, who, under the once honored name of Republicans, boast that they rule the North; and who, if this be true, *rule the South and the Union*. You shall judge of the spirit which governs them, not from the lips of their adversaries, but from the open avowals of their most conspicuous leaders:—the authorised expositors of their dogmas and their designs.

IOWA AND OHIO.

Turn first to Iowa and Ohio. The Governors of both these States recently refused to deliver up, on the requisition of the Governor of Virginia, fugitives charged as accomplices of Brown in the Harper's Ferry massacre—not black fugitives from "labor," but white fugitives from "justice." I will not trouble you with a review of their technical exceptions, some of which would bring a blush to the cheek of a pettifogging attorney. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the great seal of the Commonwealth attesting the authority of a notary, could not be received to dispense with the seal of the notary himself, as contended by the Governor of Ohio:—admitting, as argued by the astute Attorney General of Iowa, that an indictment, alleging certain offences to have been committed *in Virginia*, and found "a true bill," is to be regarded, without further proof, as a false or insufficient allegation that the offence *was committed in Virginia*:—admitting that an application by the Executive of Virginia for the delivery of persons alleged to be "fugitives from justice," is no sufficient allegation or proof that they *fled from justice, or from Virginia*; although the terms

used are the *precise terms* used in the act of Congress prescribing the manner of making the demand, and *no further allegation or proof* is thereby required as to the fact of *flight**—admitting all this, might it not have been expected in common courtesy that these captious exceptions would have been dispensed with, or at least that the alleged fugitives would have been detained until a more formal demand could be made? Such was the course, Governor Letcher informs us, pursued by the Governor of Pennsylvania in the case of Hazlitt.

KIRKWOOD.

The inaugural address of Governor Kirkwood may give some clue, perhaps, to his legal difficulties.

He says, "While I most unqualifiedly condemn, I cannot wonder at the recent unfortunate and bloody occurrence at Harper's Ferry." In being a "war against BRETHREN, it was a greater crime than the invaders of Cuba and Nicaragua were guilty of, *relieved to some extent of its guilt* in the minds of many, by the fact that the blow was struck for freedom, and not for slavery." "The moving causes that led these *misguided men* to that *mad attempt*," he thinks, "may be easily and certainly found;" and he finds them—where? Doubtless in some atrocious wrong done by the Virginians dwelling on the banks of the Potomac, to those who slaughtered them: O! no: Governor Kirkwood finds the moving causes—1st. In the ill treatment of "Free State men" in Kansas by their "pro-slavery brethren;" and 2ndly. In "the new policy called flibusterism," approved by our "Southern brethren," as well as by "many in the North." "Is it strange," he asks, "that the *bare promulgation* of

*Whenever the executive authority of any State, &c., shall demand any person as a *fugitive from justice*, of the executive authority of any State, &c., to which such person shall have fled, and shall moreover produce a copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made before a magistrate, &c., charging the person so demanded with having committed treason, felony or other crime, certified as authentic by the Governor, &c., of the State whence the person so charged fled, it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State to which such person shall have fled, to cause him to be arrested, &c., and secured, and notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent &c., and to cause the *fugitive to be delivered* to such agent, &c.; but if no such agent shall appear within six months from the time of the arrest, the prisoner may be discharged, &c.—Act. of 12th Feb., 1793.

these doctrines, acting upon the minds of men maddened by the recollection of wrongs inflicted upon them in *Kansas* because of "their love of freedom," should lead them "to do and dare as much at home for liberty as those who have oppressed them were doing abroad for slavery?" "It seems to me," he adds, "most natural." *Most natural!*—that "men, maddened by the recollection of wrongs inflicted upon them in *Kansas*, "should wreak their revenge on THEIR BRETHREN a thousand miles off in Virginia, as guiltless of those wrongs as Governor Kirkwood himself! This "*mad ATTEMPT*," this "*UNFORTUNATE occurrence*," as he softly phrases it—this unprovoked, cold-blooded, fiendish massacre, as every human heart must pronounce it—which occasioned throughout the United States, unless among the initiated in republican mysteries, as much amazement as a "thunder clap from a cloudless sky"—he regards as not at all to be wondered at. It was "*MOST NATURAL!*" Was the Governor in the secret? Or does he mean that invasion and assassination were the anticipated and natural results of the doctrines taught in that school to which he belongs?

Still, he tells us "it was a wrong;" and as such the deliberate public sentiment of the North, as well as the South, condemns it." What noble sentiments! The people of the North—we have it from one of their own chief magistrates—are deliberately of opinion, that *the deliberate murder of unoffending men* is actually "*wrong*," though committed by the "mad" or the "misguided," and for the most disinterested purpose. Why, it is probable they even condemn the "unfortunate and bloody occurrence" at Saint Bartholomew's; or think the disinterested blow for freedom, struck by the Septembrizers in the prisons of Paris,—not exactly right. Yes; they condemn it; they think "in being a war against BRETHREN it was a greater crime than the invaders of Cuba and Nicaragua were guilty of,—*relieved* to some extent by the fact that the blow was struck for freedom, and not for slavery." But they do Brown injustice in supposing that he warred against *his* brethren. He warred for his brethren—the negroes; the pikes were for *them*. He might have said truly; in speaking of those he warred against, as Caraffa did in reference to the Hungarians. "If I was conscious of having within my body, one drop of blood that was

friendly to *them*, I would at once bleed myself to death." Freed from this fiction of brotherhood, and *relieved of the guilt* ascribed to the invaders of Cuba, Brown's *disinterested* massacre is well entitled to Governor Kirkwood's unqualified "*SYMPATHY and ADMIRATION*."

No; John Brown. "mad" or "misguided," reckless and desperate as he was, would have scorned and rebuked the counsel who should have set up for him so bare-faced an excuse. Suppose him under examination—Governor Kirkwood prompting the defence;—

Prosecutor.—"John Brown, you are charged with invading Virginia with intent to subvert her government, and place yourself at the head of a usurpation."

Brown.—"True, but filibusters from other States invaded Cuba for the same purpose."

Prosecutor.—"You brought with you 200 revolvers, 200 Sharpe's rifles, manufactured in *Massachusetts*, and 1500 stand of pikes made to your order in *Connecticut*, to arm all you could entice, black or white, for the slaughter of men, women and children. You and your associates actually murdered four citizens of Virginia, who had never wronged you, and wounded many more."

Brown.—"All true; but other men treated us badly in *Kansas*. The President and Congress passed the *Kansas-Nebraska* act, and tried to pass the *Lecompton* Bill: and many people South, and some North, promulgated filibusterism."

No; could his mind and heart have been restored to a sound and sober condition, Brown would have confessed that he acted under the influence of the doctrines taught by Seward, and Giddings, and Phillips—and perhaps, by Kirkwood and Denison: Who ought to wonder if the friends of the victims felled by the rifles of Brown and his gang, *maddened by the recollection* of their unprovoked murder, should in turn wreak vengeance on all who *barely promulgate* the doctrines which led to it, and plead Governor Kirkwood's Inaugural as a justification or excuse?

In view of this barefaced apology for a crime, than which none blacker is recorded in history, was it the informality of the demand, or *the meritorious character* of their deeds,—that shielded the associates of Brown from the sword of justice? Had these fugitives fled after lynching an

abolitionist, would the chief magistrates of Iowa and Ohio have stopped to pick flaws in the affidavit or indictment? I will not affirm that they have knowingly misinterpreted their duty, or warped the law.—Such an act would make them, morally, *accessaries to murder*. God alone sees the secret spring of human actions: and I leave them to Him, to their own consciences, and the verdict of an impartial world.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 10.

(2 May, 1860.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

Turn to whatever States of the North we may, it is painful to witness the manifold proofs of their injustice and enmity:—the fruits of an over-weening self-esteem, and most charitable disposition to reform the morals of their neighbors.

ENMITY OF THE NORTH—SEWARD, &c.

The conduct of the great State of New York, especially, bound as she is to the South by interest, no less than honor, has long been in a high degree unfaithful and offensive towards us. Between her and Virginia, indeed, there exists a feud of long standing, originating in a palpable infraction, on her part, of our federal compact. Twenty years ago, Senator Seward, her then Governor, rejected an application from Virginia for the surrender of three fugitives, charged with slave stealing. His plea was that stealing slaves was no crime in New York or among civilized nations. His refusal was sanctioned by the Legislature of his State. Shortly after, he, in turn, demanded a fugitive from justice, who had fled to Virginia.—Gov. Gilmer informed him that the fugitive had been arrested, and would be surrendered as soon as the previous requisition of Virginia should be complied with. But the General Assembly, under whose instructions he was conducting a correspondence with the Southern States with a view to redress—[We then proposed a conference]—over-scrupulously conceding their obligation to respect the very provision which New York had violated to our injury—disapproved the Governor's application of the *lex talionis*; and he thereupon voluntarily abdicated his high office. Finally, the matter was suffered to drop, without "any definitive settlement."

This wrong never atoned for, has

served as a precedent since for similar wrongs from other States. We are now gathering the fruits of our forbearance in Ohio and Iowa, and verifying the lesson taught by experience, that *submission to injustice rarely fails to invite repeated aggression*.

This triumph of Seward over the Constitution, was the prelude to the famous Rochester oration; and from that turbid stream still continually pour through the land the waters of strife and bitterness.—When will they cease to flow? When the Black Republican shall change his color and the rabid Abolitionist his spots of Southern blood—or both be driven from their Northern dens. If that shall never be, then never till the patient rustic on the bank of the Mississippi shall see its mighty flood pass by, and its deep hollowed bed, dry land.

Down to the present hour the Empire State, that star of the first magnitude in the constellation of the Northern sisters, still lowers upon us with the same baleful aspect.

In her chief seat of honor now sits an enemy of the South, a mock Republican; who, if not belied, is a contributor to the circulation of an atrocious work, designed to excite servile and civil war in the South. Nine-tenths of her Representatives, it is said, and both her Senators are of the same malignant order; one of the latter its recognized chief; and some of the former, with a large proportion of their Republican brethren in Congress, abettors of Helper's scheme of insurrection and murder.

The revolutionary and monstrous doctrines proclaimed at Rochester, have, as already noticed, been denounced as the true source of the horrors enacted at Harper's Ferry. The charge was made by a distinguished Senator [Douglas] in his place, and in the presence of the great orator. How has he met it? By retreating behind a breastwork of incredible professions, and vague generalities. In his long and labored defence of himself and the Republicans, before the Senate in February, 1860, not one word does he utter about the Higher Law; not once does he name the name of the Irrepressible Conflict. He does, indeed, speak of one of its little incidents—the late tragedy, as he terms it, in Virginia; Governor Kirkwood's "*unfortunate occurrence*;"—and adopting the Kirkwood pleadings,

salves it over with silky phrases and soft apologies.

He tells us, "John Brown and his associates" were a band of exceptional men? The word is extant in excellent New England English—*exceptional*;—somewhat of a different sort from men in general—"inspired by an *enthusiasm* peculiar to themselves, and exasperated by grievances and wrongs that some of them had suffered by inroads of armed propagandists of slavery—in *Kansas*." Their *retaliation* in attempting "to subvert slavery in Virginia," he admits was unlawful—nay criminal; yet he tells us, that "generous and charitable natures will probably concede, that John Brown and his associates acted on *earnest though fatally erroneous convictions*." They were "*misguided—desperate*." "The deaths" of our murdered citizens, he thinks are to be *lamented*, and are "all the more lamentable because the slain were the innocent victims of a *frenzy* kindled in far distant fires;" the deaths even of the offenders themselves, *pitiable*, although necessary and just, because they acted under *delirium which blinded their judgments, &c.* Why then are they regarded as criminal, or thought to deserve death by the cord? Are madness and error, crimes? It is true, Senator Seward pities them; but should he not pardon them? *He* at least, if none else?—since their madness and error most probably sprung from his own teachings. The 'unfortunate' invasion and massacre occurred in their attempt to accomplish his predictions, by inaugurating the *new government* of Virginia, under the auspices of President Chapman, Vice-President Monroe the free negro, and Gen. John Brown commander-in-chief, preparatory to the full occupation of the promised land of the South—dedicated by the Seward prophecy, to free labor.

But it seems they were too impatient for the flesh-pots of Egypt. They should have waited until "the great national issue between 'free labor' and 'capital labor' for the Territories," (a new name and interpretation of the irrepressible conflict) should be conducted "to its proper solution through the *trials by ballot*." The insinuation that the great issue was to be confined to a struggle for the Territories, or to be decided by ballots, is palpably *suggestio falsi*. The Rochester oration definitely prophesied a conflict between *free labor* on the one hand, for the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the

sugar plantations of Louisiana, and *slave labor* on the other, for the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts; (which, by the way, slave labor ran away from years ago, and would not again accept as a free gift;)—a conflict never to end until the United States should become "entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free labor nation," and "*Charleston and New Orleans* marts for legitimate merchandise;" or *Boston and New York*, "for the bodies and souls of men;" an issue which, if the North will force upon the South, can never be conducted to a final solution but by open war:—"war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt:" and so Gen. Brown interpreted the Rochester oracle. He never dreamed of a ceaseless contest for the *Territories only*, or of mere "political action by suffrage. *He* took the prophecy according to its literal and true meaning—and resorted to the only means adapted to its fulfilment; good rifles, bowie knives, leaden bullets from the cartridge-box; not paper pellets from the ballot-box. Had he known the issue was thus to be solved by ballots, he might have saved his neck from the gallows, and his soul from the stain of blood. The solution was to be ascertained at any moment by a show of hands. Rye and wheat out-vote sugar and rice and king cotton all together, by large majorities in the House of Representatives and in the Senate—and, by a growing popular majority, already, I fear, of two to one.

But this pretence of settling the conflict by "appealing to the reason and judgment of the people, to be pronounced by suffrage" was an after thought, as preposterous as it is novel. Not a vote would be given on this side of Mason and Dixon, to fasten slavery in the Northern States; and the unanimous vote of the North could never extirpate it in the South, without the rifles of the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts, and the pikes of Connecticut. At all events, it comes too late for John Brown and his associates!

The blame cast on these martyred Republicans for using the only means suited to the end, looking to the quarter from whence it comes, is ungrateful and cruel. But it is not the only wrong done by Senator Seward to his dead votaries. Still worse is the complaint he makes, of the charge against the Republicans not merely of complicity, but of "sympathy with the offenders." Let him settle that with his

brother of Iowa, who boldly affirms on behalf of many of the Northern people not *sympathy* only but *admiration!* No sympathy for John Brown and his associates! "This was the most unkindest cut of all." Surely, surely, *if they were misguided enthusiasts; if they acted on earnest though erroneous convictions; under a belief that they were obeying "that Higher Law whose seat is the bosom of God," and the injunctions of the latter-day prophets; if they were truly in a state of frenzy; of delerium which blinded their judgments to the real nature of their criminal enterprise;*" no "*generous or charitable nature,*" least of all, their anti-slavery teachers and allies, should withhold their sympathy. Both God and man would pity and forgive them.

Why, then, does Senator Seward deny sympathy with them, speak of them as criminal, and their deaths as just and necessary? For the same reason that he shrinks from naming the Irrepressible Conflict and the Higher Law. For the same reason that he professes good faith to the Constitution, devotion to the Union, and ardent affection for the South. *The Presidential election is fast approaching.*—That is the key to every sentiment and subtilty in his artful defence, which throws far in the shade the famed oration of Antony over the dead body of Cæsar.

With an eye to the anticipated success of his party, and doubtless his own elevation, he notices the threats of the South to dissolve the Union, *in that event;* gently insinuates the superior strength of the Northern Republicans, and would cajole us into the belief that our destinies could be in no safer hands. I will gather into one cluster a few of the choicest flowers of this loving oration, that you may feast upon its concentrated sweets.

Speaking of the Republican party he says,

"It is already proved to be a majority in the North; it is therefore practically the people of the North. Will it still not be the same North which has *foreborne with you so long, and conceded to you so much.* Can you justly assume that that *affection* which has been so complying, can all at once change to hatred intense and inexorable?"

Again—"Differences of opinion, even on the subject of slavery, with us are political, not social or personal differences. There is not one disunionist or disloyalist among us."

"We have never been more patient, and *loved* the Representatives of other sections more than now." "The people of the North are not ene-

mies, but *friends and brethren of the South, faithful and true,*" &c.

Once more—for there is something fascinating in protestations of love and kindness, even when you may not feel altogether assured of their sincerity.

"Who believes that a Republican Administration and Congress could practice tyranny under a Constitution which interposes so many checks as ours?"

Who among us is skeptical enough, after all this, to doubt the good faith, the honor and justice, the friendship and affection of the Republicans? Have we not daily and convincing illustrations of these beautiful texts? Why the gush and glow of kindness comes over us—even from the frosty regions of the Canadian border.—

"Like the sweet South

That breathes upon a bank of violets."

It is but a few weeks since upwards of six hundred citizens of Minnesota petitioned their Representatives to allow us the rites of hospitality, and their prayer was rejected only by a majority of a little more than three to one. Actually 19 out of 69 were willing to insure us, for six long months, against personal insult and violence:—and a proposition at the same time to fine and imprison us for taking possession of our own property—was *laid upon the table*.*

*SOUTHERN RIGHTS IN MINNESOTA.—In the Minnesota House of Representatives on the 5th inst.—

Mr. Robertson presented the following petition, signed by 640 citizens of St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Anthony, the signers being both Democrats and Republicans:

To the Honorable the Speaker and the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Minnesota:

The undersigned, your petitioners, would respectfully represent to your honorable body that the interests and welfare of the citizens of Minnesota would be promoted by the passage of a law *allowing citizens from the South,* while *temporarily* in this State for health, pleasure or other purposes, to bring with them and hold within this State, for a period not exceeding five months, any slave or slaves, whom they may deem it necessary to retain with them as *body servants* for their comfort and convenience.

And we would respectfully petition your honorable body for the passage of a law with the provisions above indicated, and as in duty bound we will ever pray.

Mr. Robertson presented the following concurrent resolutions:

Whereas, we are informed, that for the purpose of recreation, and to benefit their health, many citizens of the Southern Slaveholding States desire, during the sickly season, to sojourn temporarily in Minnesota, with their families and customary house servants, but fear of being deprive

Hearken to the praises lavished upon us but a few days ago in Congress Hall. A Representative from New York denouncing slavery, said :

"The system was at war with every sentiment of honor ; was at war with every principle of that *higher law* whose seat is the bosom of God," &c.,—"every step marked with ferocity and bloodshed"—"no doubt, ere long another Spartacus will rise up in its midst to contest with *sufficient means* the question of superior force."

Anglice—to cut our throats ;—alluding, no doubt, to the Rochester prophecy and the Helper project. Hearken, too, to the blessings of the Reverend Missionary, from Illinois :—as warm as the outpourings of Ernulphus.

"Virginia should clothe herself in sack-cloth and ashes, on account of slavery, and drink the waters of bitterness."

[We are drinking them now—from the gelid fountains of the North—from the head spring of Rochester.]

"Sir, than robberies, than piracy, than polygamy, slave-holding is worse—more criminal—more injurious to man, and consequently, more offensive to God. Slave-holding has been justly designated as "*the sum of all crime.*"

of the possession of the latter, by means of hostile combinations, or adverse legal proceedings, therefore,

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the people, pledge to our countrymen of the South, who may desire to visit Minnesota, an observance, at all times, of every rite of honorable hospitality, and that during their sickly season—between the 15th of May and the 15th of October, of each year—our borders will be open to receive them and their families as guests and sojourners, and to protect them in the right of possession to their family servants, bond or free ; and for that period of every year the soil of Minnesota will be to all a neutral ground.

After a short time spent in call of the absentees, the previous question was put, and the yeas and nays being called for, there were yeas 19, nays 50.

PROTECTION OFFERED TO FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Mr. Purdie then moved to take up the following bill, previously introduced by him :

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota*, That it shall be unlawful to confine in prison, or detain in the penitentiary of this State, or in the jails of any county in this State, or in a calaboose, lockup, guard-house or station-house in this State, any person or persons charged with *simply* being a fugitive from slavery.

SEC. 2. Any officer or person who shall violate the provisions of the preceding section of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, by indictment found by the Grand Jury of the proper county, shall be imprisoned in the jail of the county not less than thirty nor more than ninety days, and be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars.

SEC. 3. This Act shall take effect from and after its passage.

But parson Lovejoy, like Senator Seward, tells us *he loves us*; loves men worse,—more criminal,—than robbers, than pirates, than mormons. What a sublime illustration of Christian charity !

But, seriously, what means this new game of Senator Seward ? these incredible demonstrations of republican love for the South ?

They wrest from us fugitives they are bound by oath to restore ;—screen from justice those who plunder us,—exclude us from the *partnership* domain ;—assail us with abuse, bitter and malignant as language can express—deny us the rites of hospitality—sympathize with the invaders of our soil, the cold blooded midnight assassins of our people—abet the apostate Southron who would tempt the faithful domestics to whom we fearlessly confide the lives of our families, to rise upon us in our sleep ;—and yet Senator Seward, but two months ago, could stand up in the face of the nation and affirm, that Northern republicans, are "not the enemies, but FRIENDS AND BRETHREN OF THE SOUTH—FAITHFUL AND TRUE ? That they "never LOVED the representatives of other sections more than *now* !" NOW ! In view, as it were, of the closing scenes of the Border Tragedy ; while the blood of our people was still smoking from their mother earth ; the wretches who murdered them writhing beneath the gallows ; and the howl of his own disappointed confederates sounding from the farthest bounds of the North ! In the midst of all this hatred, treachery and treason—in the face of all he himself had witnessed, and said, and done, and prophesied—how disgusting this mawkish sentimentality ; this affectation of regard for the Constitution ; this devotion to the Union ; this love for the South ! How absurd and monstrous the pretence, that "differences of opinion, even upon the subject of slavery. are with the Republicans 'political, not social or personal differences.' May we not reverse his interrogatory, and ask : Can hatred, intense and inexorable, change at once to love so ardent ?—or, rather, can love and hate of the same object co-exist in the same breast ? As soon oil and water shall freely mingle, or ice be found in lasting union with fire. J. R.

A Card.

To the Editors of the Richmond Whig, and Index:

You will look for no apology—quite the contrary, perhaps—for my failure to occupy as promptly as I had expected the space you so kindly allowed me in your columns. Yet I wish to say, on my own account, that it has been caused by supervening engagements, admitting of no postponement. It is of the less consequence, if indeed of any, either to yourselves or the public, not only because the subject, *Southern wrongs and remedies*, is unhappily, not likely to lose its engrossing interest for many a day to come, but because the views with which I desire to finish the task I had undertaken, were to a great extent published more than two years ago in the “the South,” and have been, within the last few weeks, reprinted in Thomas’ *Virginia Register*. In the articles containing them, I endeavored to maintain that without some speedy change in the Federal Constitution, there could be no permanent union nor peace between the Southern and Northern States; no safety for the South—I say for the South; for the rights and interests of the North are more than sufficiently secured by the power they now possess, and which is constantly increasing, “*to dictate the whole policy of the government.*” The specific amendment I suggested, was a division of the Senate into two separate, and I regret to use the term, sectional chambers. In addition to this, the South should also have a certain and constitutional share in the administration of that department which wields the purse and the sword, by means of a dual Executive, as proposed by Mr. Calhoun, or what would, to some extent, place the South on that footing of equality which independent States owe it to self-respect, as well as to self-interest, to demand, and might be perhaps more unobjectionable, by giving alternately to the different sections the appointment of the President. Some such, or some *effectual checks in the organic law, upon Northern supremacy*, in my humble opinion, are in-

dispensable, and should be at once proposed as the sole condition upon which the people of the South can consent to continue their political connection, or rather subjection, under a common government.

May, 1860.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 11.

[June 1860.]

SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

To the People of Virginia:

We are wronged; we resent; yet we endure. Time after time we have remonstrated against Northern aggressions.—Our remonstrances have been unheeded by our assailants. Their aggressions have continued—increased. Menaces and spoliation have been succeeded by invasion and bloodshed. A year has more than half rolled away since the soil of Virginia was polluted by a horde of brigands—the spawn of Northern fanaticism—bent on her destruction; and yet, although the immediate actors suffered the doom of felons, no efficient measures have been taken to restrain the master spirits who goaded them on, from hatching new conspiracies, and setting on foot new forays. Mindful of the pledge of Federal protection, Senator Douglas, shortly after the meeting of Congress, offered a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to report a bill to prevent in future the murderous plots and incursions of our allies. The motion served as a peg for one or more speeches—answering probably its chief design—and one of these days, when the Presidential canvass shall no longer stand in the way, may—again serve the same purpose.

The recent proceedings at Chicago furnish fresh proof of the untiring hostility of the Republican faction. In nominating both President and Vice President from within their own section, they leave us no room to doubt their ultimate and audacious design to wrest from the South *all participation* in the administration of the Federal Government. Behold the destiny they reserve for us!—*a Black Republican President and Vice President; a Black Republican House of Representatives; at no distant day, a Black Republican Senate and a Black Republican Judiciary*:—in a word, SUBJECTION stares us in the face—subjection worse than colonial;

ruinous, disgraceful subjection, to allies ; to a faction who hate us ; a party to whose doctrines and influence the murderous ambush of John Brown has been traced, with as much certainty as the massacre of St. Bartholomew's to the teachings of the Jesuits ; a party who mourn the retributive justice of Heaven upon his foul misdeeds ; and who, it is but just to infer, joyfully would "*toll the bell,*" and "*chant the death song*" of new victims, and the progress of fresh assassins :

"SONG OF THE EVIL ONE."

"Ring, bell, ring, but not for mass ;
Ring, bell, ring, but not for prayers ;
Red torches are lighted,
Keen daggers are drawn ;
Beware, ye benighted,
Ye shall not see dawn."

But their hopes shall not be realized—subjection of the South to the North—I have said it before—SUBMISSION to the rule of such a party is an inconceivable absurdity. The word, I repeat, has been long *expunged* from the lexicon of Virginia;—inclosed in lines blacker than Ben-ton's.

The wily orator of Auburn, who none seem to have doubted—himself probably less than any—would have received the Chicago nomination for the first office of the Republic, is well aware of the light in which he and his party are viewed at the South. In anticipation of his success, he adverts to "*menaces of disunion, to be executed the moment that a Republican Administration shall assume the Government.*" Cautiously suggesting an inference, *more suo*, that the votes of *his party* are sufficient "*for effect,*"—he artfully remarks, that *these threats enforce a question* "which touches its spirit and its pride"—namely, "Has it determination enough to cast them?"

"It would be a waste of words," he tells us, "to show that the responsibility for disunion must rest not with those who in the exercise of constitutional authority maintain the Government, but with those who unconstitutionally engage in the mad work of subverting it."

If, in the exercise of their constitutional authority, our confederates resolve to place the purse and the sword of the Union in the hands of our enemies ; of men who would trample under foot the guarantees of our compact—why, *let the South take the responsibility of separation!* They took the responsibility heretofore,—and the North united with them,—of subverting a government more constitution-

ally. more kindly, more honestly administered than can ever be expected from the republican party of the North ; less oppressive ; less odious. It will not do for those to talk of the constitution, who profess obedience to an undivulged higher law of their own. They may *constitutionally* elect a convict—or an abolitionist. No wrongs are more aggravating than those perpetrated under the mantle of the law.—*Id facere laus est quod decet, non quod potest.* Had John Brown escaped the gallows, and been nominated by his sympathizers as the most worthy of black republicans, can Senator Seward suppose the South would have hesitated, on his election, to renounce all communion with him and his supporters ? Why then should they cling to a union in whose name or under whose authority a Seward, a Lincoln or a Hamlin shall rule their destinies ?

NEGRO EQUALITY.

How artfully again, with a view to lay the blame of disunion at the door of the South,—how disingenuously, does the Senator represent us as having but *one* ground of complaint against his party :

"You accuse the republican party of ulterior and secret designs—you name only one : that one is to introduce negro equality among you."

Not only is it uncandid to intimate that the South has named no other ground, but it is certain that they never have named *that* ground,—the introduction of negro equality—as any serious ground of complaint whatever. They have never believed that the most insane abolitionist could imagine the possibility of introducing negro equality among *them*. They have never believed that the republicans meant to introduce it *among themselves*. There is no need for the assurance of Senator Seward that negro equality never had existence in any of the "free labor" States,—except perhaps in the crazy brains of a Smith or a Brown, or in the false professions of designing priests and demagogues.

It is too obvious to escape the observation of all—save the blindest of bigots—that the woolly-headed African is of an inferior race ; inferior from the top of his head to the sole of his foot, in form and feature, in size and color in body and mind—designed by nature for those humble labors which human necessities require, and which if not performed by them, must be performed by a race fitted

for high intellectual pursuits. It is not to be doubted by any who do not discredit the bible, that this particular race were destined by Heaven to fill this necessary and more humble station in human society. However this may be, slavery as a usage or institution has prevailed, if the bible is to be believed, by the direct sanction of the Almighty, almost from the date of the creation. Whosoever denounces it, arraigns the Almighty himself. When "all smarting with his wounds being cold," a modern Thersites, from under the shelter of the Senate chamber, poured out the ingredients of his "hell broth," the "poisoned entrails," the "smeltered venom," collected and concocted during four long years; and uttered his loud howl, ever and anon sounding the refrain, "*Sir, is not slavery barbarous*," did he forget that he was yelping at old Noah and old Moses? Nay, worse than that!—But I forbear:—It savors of impiety almost to think—much more to suggest—against whom it is these anathemas are hurled. But our humane and pious brethren are quite content with denouncing slavery and its authors or supporters, wherever their curses may light. As to any aid or sympathy for the slave, we are yet to see the first evidence of it. As to any practical freedom or equality, it is idle to think of it. We have always known that whatever "*exceptional men*" may have meant, the great mass of the Republicans and Abolitionists, captain and crew, were "rowing one way and looking another;" and this was what in that connexion we did complain of,—that the black party while *robbing us, cheated the slave* with promises of liberty and equality they never meant to perform. The slaves emancipated by John Randolph and sent to the negro loving Republicans of Ohio, years ago, soon found to their cost, that their love was sheer hypocrisy—their friendship, death. Driven it is said from their homes purchased for them, dispersed and divided, many of them pined to return to their old cabins and congenial labors. What has become of them since, the abolition historians have not related. Is it not a striking fact that not only among them—but among the thousands and tens of thousands in old Massachusetts, where slavery has been abolished for nearly a century, not one of the children of Ham,—though the Declaration of Independence and Personal Liberty Bills have been ostentatiously paraded to vindicate their equality—has ever risen to eminence as an orator, a philosopher or a poet, or filled the offices of governor, legislator, or judge? Which horn of the dilemma will the philanthropists take? Is the African by nature an inferior variety of the species *homo*? or do they cheat him of his rights? Were they really moved by feelings of humanity, what an opportunity is now offered them to evince it! More than a thousand ignorant, homeless, penniless, Africans have been landed on our shores;—*freemen* unlawfully seized as slaves. Come, forward, kind friends of humanity; here is scope for your labor of love! Raise them upon the platform of your Chicago Convention: place them upon the plank intended for them, as you say by the Declaration of Independence, side by side with Abraham Lincoln. You may object that being *in puris naturalibus*, they may not be quite prepared for liberty and equality without some training. Take them then to your bosoms; to your hospitable homes; feed and clothe them: educate them in all the mysteries of all your *isms*. Give them *homesteads* in a part of the territory of which you would rob the South, lest it should become the home of negro slavery—and make it the home of negro freedom. Establish a new Liberia: found a model republic of these unsophisticated squatter sovereigns, according to your own system of ethics. The South, doubtless, willingly would yield up their part of the common domain necessary for so benevolent and hopeful a purpose.—Nay, it can scarcely be doubted, would be so far reconciled to your Chicago nominees as to give them their votes for President and Vice President—not of the Union perhaps—but of the new Liberia. Who could be more fit for the highest office in such a republic than a republican of the blackest stripe? One, too, who could teach his fellow-citizens to earn their living at once—by mauling rails—a labor so admirably adapted to their natural capacities! In the name of the humanity you profess, for the sake of consistency at least, do not suffer them to be re-shipped to Africa, as though they were a menagerie of baboons, to be hunted like brutes, and possibly sent back—subject to all the horrors of a slave ship—to Cuban bondage. For half the cost of this barbarous treatment you may give them homesteads, and

food and clothing, until they shall be able, under their learned instructor, to support themselves by "free labor." Prove to the world that your *quondam* Leader does not do justice to the spirit which animates his party, and that you meant his late dismissal as a rebuke for his denial of negro equality. Do this, or confess that your concern for the negro is a hollow profession, or, at best, an unmeaning abstraction.

Were it not beside my present purpose, I would join you in raising the question, whether these poor, kidnapped Africans are not at this moment as free as any other aliens in the country, and subject exclusively to the jurisdiction of the State in which they have been landed. Whether the Congress of the U. S. could constitutionally vest in the President an arbitrary power, or any power whatever over their persons—the power especially of shipping them to Africa—any more than it could give him power to ship the next cargo of Irishmen or Germans back to their respective homes. A *Habeas Corpus* might soon test the question and save them perhaps from their kind friends, now preparing for them a fate worse than bondage—worse than death.

WHO IN FAULT?

But commending these poor imitators of humanity to the special protection of Northern philanthropists, let us return to the question of *responsibility* which Senator Seward would so adroitly bring to bear upon the South. Is he justified in saying that no ulterior and secret designs are attributed to the republican party, save the ridiculous intention (of which it was never accused,) of introducing negro equality among us? I will not suppose, although the Senator is upon all occasions eminently oracular—that the terms *ulterior and secret designs* contain an *equivocal*, and that he means to exclude all reference to *open acts and previous avowals* of an unfriendly and injurious character. His or their secret designs can of course only be known to themselves. He means that we have named no other ground of complaint—or he means nothing—and in this sense the remark is utterly unfounded.

Can he have forgotten the indignant remonstrance of Governor Gilmer at his refusal when Governor of New York, to deliver up a fugitive offender against the laws of Virginia?

Or the recent equally indignant rebuke

by our present Governor of the Governors of Ohio and Iowa, for similar violations of justice and courtesy?

Has he heard no complaint of the attempt to bar us out from the partnership lands? A wrong so flagrant as recently to induce the representatives of a large number of the Southern States in the Charleston Democratic National Convention to secede from all connexion with their political associates from the North? A secession regarded by many as the advancing shadow of a cloud which threatens to extinguish forever the light of our once loved and glorious Union? May Heaven inspire with wiser and better thoughts all who would causelessly bring about a consummation so disastrous to the country and so fatal to the hopes of the world. Already to the great dismay of the Republicans, a bright sign has appeared in the Senate of returning justice and reason; a triumphant vindication, by the passage of Senator Davis' Resolutions, of the equal rights of the South in the Federal domains.

Has the Senator heard no complaint of the statutes enacted by his party in almost every State of the North, under the title of Personal Liberty Bills? Referring to that of Massachusetts, an honest journalist, of Boston, declares that 'every body in Massachusetts knows' it was "passed solely to neutralize and nullify the fugitive slave law." More than that—it was meant to nullify the Constitution: to subject to eminent hazard of fine and imprisonment, every Southern man who constitutionally seeks to recover his own slave, and to expose his life to danger, from fanatical and excited mobs.

Surely, if the well disposed people of the North, could be impressed with the faintest conception of the indignation with which these outrages are viewed by those who have claims upon their justice, and friendship:—not these outrages alone, but the spirit and sentiments which produce them—aye, and deeds of treachery treason and murder still more flagitious,—they would pause in the career which is fast hastening their country and themselves to ruin. Let them but reflect what would be their feelings under similar outrages from us. Say that we resolve to retaliate; seize man for man, or confiscate property for property; grant licenses to capture their vessels in our ports, or, on the high seas, to land the crews on the

nearest shore, take the cargo, and scuttle the ship; that we pass "Personal Liberty Bills," forbidding the arrest of the captors, refusing our jails to hold them, and punishing with fine and imprisonment, all who should aid or abet the injured party:—or had ever sought to establish slavery among them.—What would they think of us? I need only say that they would probably think of us in such a case, just what we now think of them.

No; the idle thought of introducing negro equality among us is not the only ground, nor any serious ground whatever of complaint on our part. There are grievances of a far greater magnitude; so great that we need not fear to meet the responsibility, whatever may be the issue of the irrepressible conflict forced upon us.—When the madness of the times shall have done its work, and—if that dark day shall ever come—the sanctuary consecrated by Wisdom and Virtue to Justice, Concord and Liberty, shall fall in ruins, not on the South will rest the blame. They need not fear the verdict of an impartial world, nor the more overwhelming curse of their own consciences. They may confidently appeal to every Northern man in whom there is truth or honesty, and ask, Has the South ever robbed you of your property? meddled with your institutions or usages? refused to surrender offenders against your laws? sought to expel you from the common domain? passed statutes to repeal your constitutional rights? denied to you the common rights of hospitality? invaded your land? or murdered your people?

Yet all these things have you done unto us.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 12. (July 1860.)

RECENT MOVEMENTS.

To the people of Virginia:

When I last addressed you, movements were in progress of intense interest to the whole people of the United States. THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, which had broken up at Charleston in "most admired disorder," was about to re-assemble in two separate bodies, at Baltimore and Richmond. Unable to reconcile their own jars, there was little prospect that their discordant counsels would quiet the dissensions of the nation. CONGRESS was preparing to close its worse than un-

profitable stewardship, and to desert a well-riddled granary; leaving a bare handful of chaff for every bushel of wheat.—No report had yet been made on DOUGLAS'S RESOLUTION, intended, doubtless, to protect the Southern States against Northern invasions. Perhaps it was thought needless to lock the door after the steed was stolen. A TARIFF to *reduce revenue*, and to promote Northern industry at the expense of Southern, was on foot, coupled with an Agrarian scheme, under the popular title of THE HOMESTEAD BILL, designed to rob the old States for the benefit of the new: to transfer the public domain, the common treasure, in effect, of all the States, to idlers and rapacious speculators; to encourage the importation, already excessive of foreign paupers; and last, though not least, to buy popularity for its supporters.

Had no other cause arrested my pen, I should have deemed it proper to suspend my crude suggestions, in view of results so near at hand, which might powerfully influence your future action.

The general assembly, you will remember, referred to expected "*developments of approaching events*," which they conceded our relations with the non-slaveholding States urgently required. The limits of a proper forbearance had long been reached. Still our endurance kept pace with the outrages of our adversaries, and *they advanced as we retreated*. They must themselves have thought the climax, both of Northern audacity and Southern sufferance, capped, when the blood of our people was shed—upon our own soil. So too, undoubtedly, thought your late and present Chief Magistrates, when they recommended an immediate and definitive settlement; and such, unless I greatly err, was the general sentiment of the people of Virginia—indeed of the entire South. The Legislature itself must have been strongly under the same impressions, when, at an enormous cost, they provided for organizing the military force or the State and supplying arms and munitions of war. Still they waited for "*further developments*."

Many a fresh insult and injury have since been inflicted upon us from the same quarter: still we tranquilly await "*further developments*." Enough—more than tenfold enough, has been long developed, to satisfy the most incredulous that if we expect redress or protection from a "mas-

terly inactivity" we may wait till doomsday.

"Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis."

Who, now living, will see the day when the stream of Northern injustice or the flood of Northern hatred will cease to flow?

INCREASING DIFFICULTIES AND DANGER.

Wofully disappointed must be all who looked to congressional legislation, or party caucussing, to quiet the agitations of the country. Both have tended manifestly to complicate our difficulties and increase our danger.—"*The present epoch*" is indeed "*portentous*. A crisis now impends that is to decide the weal or woe of the nation." Such is the language of a Journal—(*The Whig*) claiming to be thoroughly conservative; and it does but express the universal belief.

Daily, hourly, party conflicts and State antipathies wax more bitter, more deadly. Every moment darker and darker lowers the prospect around us. Our good old ship, "The Union," built by our Fathers and freighted by them, with "the blessings of Liberty," hath rode out many a storm; but this hath "trifled former knowings." The waves of faction are running mountain high. Furiously the winds of folly and madness and fanaticism all at once assail her:

Una Eurusque, Notusque ruunt.

Now a chilling blast from the cave of Seward:—now rude gusts from Lovejoy and Sedgwick—"blustering railers;" now agonizing squalls from Sumner. Mists of Black Republicanism hide the light of truth and reason. The constellation of the United Sisters fitfully glimmers in the firmament, while ever and anon Abolitionism

— darts forth flames which scare the night.

Amid the perils many of you supinely await the "great issue"—others stand with drawn daggers, while a mutinous squad are plotting to put a landloper at the helm. Decaying timbers let in the hungry wave. On the right rise the rocks of Disunion; and on the left yawns the gulf of Consolidation.

But, not to dwell on an allegorical, though I must think unexaggerated picture of the perils which beset us, let us turn to the appalling realities themselves.

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS—DOUGLAS' RESOLUTION.

Assembled on the very heel of the abolition massacre, was it not to have been expected that the best measures which the wisdom of our Federal representatives could devise, would have been adopted to guard us against a similar atrocity for the future? Yet, after a session of six months, signalized by scenes of disorder, hardly equalled in its own annals. Congress has adjourned, leaving us unredressed and unprotected. True, we were tantalized with a *resolution* and a *speech*, recognizing the Federal obligation to protect us: but there, as already said, the matter ended. No attempt has been made to prevent or suppress Abolition conspiracies. [Not a cent of the cost Virginia was forced to incur, in quelling their late hell-concerted invasion, has been reimbursed, nor any plan suggested to save her the still more enormous expenditure deemed necessary by the General Assembly to repel further irruptions.

But, passing this, when before, among States united under a common government, and pledged to mutual friendship and protection, was it found necessary that one or more should have a military force for defence against the others? What a burlesque upon Unions!—Is it not, as though husband or wife should sleep side by side, with dagger or pistol beneath the pillow? Would not divorce *a vinculis* be preferable to such a union?

Note, too, the blighting effect of this state of things upon the prosperity of our border State. While our Northern associates are free from all apprehension of disturbance from us or any State of the South, and can apply their whole resources to public improvements and private industry, a large proportion of our revenue is exhausted in providing a military establishment *to protect us—from our protectors*. The Union, as they have made it, has required an appropriation of more than half a million of dollars by Virginia within the last nine months—a sum equal to one-half, probably, of her whole property tax, and four times the amount necessary to pay all the officers of her State government: and there is little reason to doubt, that large additional burthens must be levied upon her so long as the disturbers of her peace shall be tolerated and encouraged. Reflecting, conservative men must see, that these burthens imposed upon our people to protect them from the "border ruf-

fians" of the North, must greatly impair their attachment to the Union. They must see it—we feel it.

APPROVAL OF SUMNER'S SPEECH.

Among other recent developments, we must not omit to notice the offensive commendation bestowed by Massachusetts on Sumner's libellous and inflammatory harangue. Some allowance may be made for Sumner, who it is to be hoped, found relief to his lacerated back in discharging the venom of his spleen. But the endorsement of his foul abuse and menacing doctrines—the same which inspired the martyr of Ossawatimie—denotes on the part of his State a depth of malignity—a national antipathy indeed, well calculated to invite another *raid*, and scarcely compatible with social or commercial intercourse; much less with political union.

HIGHER LAW EXPOUNDED.

There is still another development in the proceedings of the late Congress, even more ominous to the Union and to the South. I allude to the authentic exposition of the Higher Law, by a member of the Black Republican party—Sedgwick, of New York. Speaking, as with authority, he tells us that the Republican party is, if successful, to establish a *peculiar reform, &c*; that it is established to *oppose tyranny at home*, no less than in foreign lands; is destined to promote *the universal prevalence of liberty*; and recognize and uphold the *fullest and most perfect equality of human rights and human freedom*. *Slavery* he describes as having *no support in right or justice, or christianity; as merciless, revolting, marked with ferocity and bloodshed, at war with every sentiment of honor, "with every principal of THAT HIGHER LAW, WHOSE SEAT IS THE BOSOM OF GOD."* He denounces the *hypocrisy* of Northern merchants and traders of former years who, for the sake of pecuniary profit, would check all attempt to *interfere with slavery in the South.*"

The drift of all this is easily comprehended. But Abolitionism and Black Republicanism have grown bold since the October exploit, and their spokesman leaves no room for doubt or inference.—He thus pronounces

THE HIGHER LAW

"I state emphatically here that *no form of constitutional law*, however solemnly agreed to, however high may be its claim to authority, intended to recognize or authorize such a system of outrage

upon human rights, is of any effect to bind the conscience, or control the conduct of any citizen of any government under Heaven."

The Higher Law is now at last authentically defined. It is an ordinance to *sanction perjury*. The direction from whence it comes has indeed, been greatly misrepresented. It comes from *below*. It is impious to ascribe it to the Deity. Nowhere can it be found *but in the code of Lucifer*.

Should a member elect refuse to take the oath of office, nothing is more clear than that he could not be admitted to a seat. It is an express condition without the performance of which he can give no legislative vote; exercise no legislative right; and he must *keep it* according to its true intent and meaning. The Constitution requires not merely that every representative shall take an oath, but emphatically that he shall "*be bound*" by oath or affirmation to support *that* Constitution. The republican expounder as "*emphatically*" declares, that the Constitution, so far as it may recognize slavery, is of "*no binding effect whatever*." *Whoso taketh an oath deliberately intending to violate it, hath already committed perjury in his heart.* If this intention exist at the time of taking it, the representative is in honor bound to announce it, though the confession should lose him his seat, with its snug little annuity of three thousand dollars. If not formed until after qualifying, he should avow it the moment it was formed, and if he should not instantly resign, should be *unhesitatingly expelled*.

It matters not whether the recusant be unsworn or forsworn; whether the determination *not to be bound*, was formed before or after admission—non-juring and perjury equally disqualify all from executing public trusts which the law requires they *shall be bound by oath* faithfully to perform. Were a juryman to declare that he would not be bound by his oath, believing in some higher obligation, would he not be set aside, or committed to jail? Would not a judge, proclaiming from the Bench that he did not regard as binding upon himself, upon the jury or upon any citizen whatever, a certain provision of the constitution involved in a trial before him, be as unhesitatingly impeached and removed? Surely there can be nothing more incompatible with his tenure—no stronger cause for expulsion, than a *voluntary confession* of the legal or moral depravity, having committed, or being prepared to commit

the violation of his solemn and deliberate oath, to maintain the Constitution. Why was not the question tested by a resolution affirming the obligation of the organic law and of the oath to support it and the consequent liability to expulsion of any representative who in his legislative character should intentionally violate either, or avow that they were of no effect to "*bind his conscience or control his conduct.*"

It may be thought too much importance is attached to the language and opinions which I have so specially noticed. Were they those of insulated individuals, there would be great force in the objection, and so far as they were designed to reflect on the character and institutions of the South, they might be well passed by, as little noticed as the yelping of a whipt cur, or the howling of the mountain wolf in his covert. But these Congressional libellers are the spokesmen of States; of anti-slavery factions, who we are told cast a million and a half of votes," and viewing their language and opinions in connexion with the questions before us, the peace of the Southern States and the stability of the Union, you will hardly think I exaggerate their importance.

PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS.

In connection with the same questions let us now advert somewhat more particularly to the movements before alluded to, precluding *that momentous event which beyond all others, interests and agitates the country.* The chief business of the nation, "the never ending, still beginning" contest for the selection of the next monarch of the United Republics, has, since the adjournment of the General Assembly, been advanced another stage. The whole array of competitors for the succession is now in full view. Five Richmonds are in the field, or rather,—for the idols of the day are always Gods,—five Jupiters appear at once in the political firmament. It is for the Fates to decide which of them shall hurl down all his rivals, and henceforth launch the thunder.

The number of aspirants is without example. The causes are obvious;—the enormous increase of Executive power and influence, and the greatly aggravated bitterness of sectional feeling. With powers definitely prescribed by the organic law, the President has long practically exercised an authority as extensive, and well nigh as indefinite, as any crowned head in Europe. "The upper ten" look to him

for official distinction; the lower million, for their daily bread; together they form a standing army more dangerous than the Janizaries of Amurath, and as ready to obey the nod of their master. It is not to be wondered at that such an office should be the mark of ambitious aspirants, nor that the leaders and followers of party should rally to the support of the most "*available,*" under well understood pledges of being raised to elevated stations, or fed from the public crib. *Such is the actual and natural working of our system.* Equally natural is it, that amid the unhappy dissensions which now divide the country, each of the two great contending sections should deem it all important to secure the control of the hand which holds the sword, and unlocks the vast stores of the Federal Treasury; the aggressing section for means of still bolder aggressions, the assailed for defence.

THE CANVASS.

I propose to glance for a moment at the canvass, not in a party aspect, but solely in reference to its probable influence on the agitating questions of the day; and in that view I feel constrained to say that while its issue may produce the most disastrous results, *it is impossible in my opinion, be that issue what it may, that it will lessen, much less remove, the cause of dissension, or permanently restore peace.*

Of the four prominent candidates, two are presented by the Democracy; one by the Black Republicans; and one by a new party under the imposing name of the Constitutional Union party.

As to the chances: Without offering any speculations of my own, I adopt the almost universal belief, that neither a President nor Vice President will be elected by the popular vote, to which (through electoral colleges,) the question is in the first instance to be referred. Forgetful of the old adage,

Duos qui sequitur lenores neutrum capit,

The great party who, with hardly a single instance to the contrary, have triumphed in every Presidential contest for more than half a century, no longer able perhaps, to command success even though united, have entered into a suicidal contest, and commenced a fruitless chase in different directions. It is to be hoped in thus eschewing the execrable, but only safe policy of party organization—cohesion for the sake of party—the Seceders have

yielded to a conscientious conviction of the just principle whose violation they had too much reason to apprehend.

On the other hand the Black Republicans and the Red Abolitionists, notwithstanding their feigned quarrel,—feigned not in respect to the object both aim at, but the more or less bloody means of effecting it,—have readily become amalgamated, and will vote as a unit. Still their united strength, it is said, is insufficient to carry a plurality of the popular vote.

Deducting the votes of the united Black and Red squadrons, and of the divided Democracy, it is regarded as an impossibility that the nominees of the *new party* can stand the remotest chance of election by the people.

In this state of things the choice of a President devolves on the House of Representatives voting by States, and of a Vice-President on the Senate, voting *per capita*. If no President receive a majority of all the States before the 4th day of March, the Vice-President is to act as President.

CASUS OMISSUS.

But suppose that neither a President nor Vice-President shall be chosen in any one of the modes prescribed by the constitution—an event in the opinion of many by no means impossible—what then? The only provision bearing on this question is one authorizing Congress, in case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and Vice-President, to declare what officer shall then act as President. But the case supposed is not that of removal, death, resignation, or inability. It is the case of a vacancy indeed, but one resulting from neither of the causes specified. It is, therefore, it would seem, a *casus omissus*—and if so, in the contingency alluded to, the Executive Department of the Government would cease to exist—or would be without an officer to discharge its duties—for the term at least of four years.

RESULT OF AN ELECTION.

But say the office is duly filled. What effect may we anticipate from the new administration on the “great national issue?” Will it arrest “the irrepressible conflict?” Will it establish slavery at the North, or extinguish it at the South, making the States *all one thing, or all the other?*

Will it give permanent stability to the Union, or security to the South? When you answer these questions you will agree with me, that as the grievances under which we suffer, do not spring from the Presidency, so is it equally certain that no President can furnish a cure.

Give us *Breckinridge and Lane*, or either. They would be powerless, not merely on the great issue, but on every issue between the sections.

Douglas and Johnson would be equally powerless on every issue, save that which, in the estimation of many States of the South, identifies them with our enemies.

Say, despite the opposition of the two great parties, who constitute eight or nine-tenths, probably, of the entire voting population of the United States, that *Bell and Everett*, owing to some unaccountable caprice of fortune, or turn of public sentiment, should carry the day:—what could be achieved by an administration having no definite policy, approved by either of the great parties or sections of the country? Should it incline to the North, it would offend the South, if to the South, it must be defeated by the preponderating power of the North. A neutral or impartial attitude would most probably dissatisfy both. The truth is, to use John Randolph’s illustration, no man can ride at once both sides of a sapling.

To my mind it is perfectly plain, that neither of the sets of nominees, (either of which would be immeasurably preferred by the South, to Lincoln and Hamlin;) nor any man or men in the Union, were the South to choose, could, as President or Vice President, *under the existing Constitution*, carry out any measure effectually to prevent Northern aggressions or conspiracies, or, indeed, any plan whatever for the benefit of the Southern people.

Failing all others, either *Lincoln and Hamlin* must be elected, or there will be no President nor Vice President for the next four years. I will not stop to consider which would be the greater calamity to the country. The government certainly could no more exist without an Executive, than a man without a head. *But how much longer would it live under the original patentee of the “irrepressible conflict?”* How long would it take him, with his maul and wedges, to rend the Union in twain, by the exact line of Mason and Dixon? Could the government

endure a twelvemonth under the sway of Abram Lincoln? A leading journal has ably exposed the revolutionary sentiments, which have raised this modern Cataline to the 'bad eminence' of Black Republican Leader, so ardently coveted by the Rochester Prophet. What a basis would they constitute for an inaugural! Let us collect into a focus a few of the most brilliant thoughts, which we may suppose will illustrate that great State paper, and foreshow the beneficial influence of the blazing prodigy which has suddenly appeared in the North.

LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL.

"I congratulate you on the prosperous condition of our internal affairs. Slavery agitation (the irrepressible conflict) it is true still continues, but it must cease *"when a crisis shall have been reached and passed."* That crisis will be, when this government is, as it will be, "all one thing or all the other." *"It cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."* There is a judgment and feeling against slavery which cast at least a million and a half of votes." These voters are now, or soon will be, numerous enough to extinguish slavery,—through *"the peaceful channel of the ballot box,"* or if forced out of that mode, *"through some other channel."*

He will doubtless speak of the heroes and martyrs who died under the gallows at Harper's Ferry—the *'misguided'* and *'exceptional men'* so commiserated by Kirkwood and Seward—enjoin on his Black and Red friends a strict observance of the Higher Law, "whose seat is the bosom of God," but recommend that they set on foot no similar enterprises—until they are better prepared.

Seriously, few, even at the South, think that Lincoln, if elected, would attempt the immediate enforcement of his disorganizing doctrines. We may do him the justice to believe that he is not ferocious enough to carry out his own principles. But it is not reasonably to be supposed, that he would strenuously oppose that agitation, which he evidently thinks must and should continue until slavery shall become extinct—or that he would turn his back upon his friends and side with the South. In the progress of this agitation, however, other massacres may be committed or attempted, even bloodier than that of Harper's Ferry. The vengeance of an excited multitude may fall again, as it has fallen before, on those sus-

pected of meditating such deeds, or on inciting others, black or white, to rebellion and insurrection. Retaliation on either side—blood for blood—civil war, in short, may ensue. A new *proclamation and force bill* may be demanded, and *Lincoln's million and a half may volunteer, under the blended colors of the Red and the Black Rose—Teucro duce et auspice Teucro—to quiet the South.* It may be said these are extravagant suppositions. Can any man, at least any Southern man, say they are more improbable than was the massacre of October, or could now excite more amazement? Nay, do not the persevering enmity and injustice of the Northern agitators, the intense exasperation of the South—every movement in both quarters—manifestly tend in that direction? But we must wait for farther developments, for the overt act.

Must the earth quake; must the earth quake, before the people cease to sleep!

Shall we wait till manacles be put around our limbs, or halters around our necks? till we are crushed by the very power and means we ourselves contribute to put in the hands of our unscrupulous adversaries? *Who can say what the next six months may bring about, should Lincoln be entrusted with that power?—Or should he not?*

It is not a mere speck of danger which appears in our horizon. A black cloud has rapidly risen above us. The lightning has already struck. The tempest thickens. Shall we not put our barque in trim to meet its utmost fury?

Sound planks to the leak! A firm hand to the helm! Throw the mutineers overboard! Or take to the State life-boats and save yourselves.

There is no other escape.

July 7th, 1860.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No 13.

(Sept. 1860.)

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

"Must the earth quake, must the earth quake before the people cease to sleep?"—B. W. LEIGH.

Such, six and twenty years ago—in view of the glaring infringements of the Federal compact by our Federal agents, was the stirring appeal of a gifted son of the Old Dominion, representing her in the Senate of the Union.

It was no out-burst of factious feeling, few men were ever less imbued with the

spirit of faction than Benjamin Watkins Leigh. Not Washington more deprecated disunion, or was more thoroughly conservative. But a twelve-month before he had honorably and successfully fulfilled a mission of peace from Virginia to a sister State of the South, then on the eve of secession. But truly as he loved the Union, not readier was Washington—nor Franklin—nor Old John Adams—nor Jefferson—nor Mason—nor Henry—to renounce obedience to oppressive rule, or unregulated power. He loved the Union, but not for the sake of the name. He looked to the substantial ends and objects of its ordination; the practical conformity of the contracting parties to the principles upon which it was founded, and the obligations it imposed. That attachment moreover was subordinate to another and stronger sentiment—devotion to “his own, his native land.” This was the master passion of his soul.

Virginia was the mother of his affections, and the family pact which united her to her sister States, was in his eye, a blessing or a curse, as it should or should not assure to her and to all, the benefits it was designed to secure. This he frankly avowed on the floor of the Senate Chamber.

“The love of Union is founded on a just sense of its advantages to all. The loyalty of a free people to government is as it ought to be, founded in a perception of its *blessings*, and must cease when it becomes a *curse*.”

“If it please God,” he declared, on the same occasion, “to spare me life, the people of Virginia shall understand all the alternatives likely to be presented to them. They must decide.”

“The Constitution is falling in ruins around us.”

“Our forefathers of the Revolution resisted a *PRINCIPLE* which if admitted might lead to oppression, they did not wait till actual oppression was felt,” &c.

And then, too, it was that, contemplating the alternatives “likely to be presented,” he lifted up his warning voice, and exclaimed in tones of mortification and despair. “*Must the earth quake, must the earth quake before the people cease to sleep?*”

And yet this earnest appeal was wrung from him under a sense of grievances light as “air,” compared with the wanton outrages ever since, heaped unceasingly

upon you; outrages under which you can sleep no more, if not deaf to the call of patriotism, and dead to the voice of manhood and honor.

Fain would I humbly imitate the example of my departed friend, and make plain to your understandings what are palpable to mine—the *alternatives* not merely *likely to be presented*, but now actually in view; present, inevitable. This indeed, however imperfectly disclosed, has been mainly the object of these desultory papers. From time to time as leisure served or duty seemed to require, I have ventured to express my views of the injurious treatment you have long suffered, and still daily experience at the hands of a large and controlling portion of your northern confederates; their abuse; their menaces; their inhospitality; their perverse interference with your domestic concerns; their frequent and faithless violations of the compact of Union; their unjust and insolent pretension to the exclusive enjoyment of the public domain. I have shown them to be responsible for the midnight invasion of your State, and unprovoked massacre of your sons and brethren, by wretches taught in their schools, and expounding practically their “system of ethics.”

Not even that hellish display of implacable malice—that foul transgression against the laws of God and man,—has opened the eyes of teacher or disciple to the enormity of a system producing such fruit. Nor has the just and shameful doom of the immediate perpetration quelled the rabid spirit of the survivors. Far from it, their anti-slavery Bible, “the Higher Law,” as preached by their chiefest Apostles, is but a Gospel of Assassination, and the forfeited blood of their converts naturally becomes, in turn, the seed of their Church.

To what other cause are we to ascribe their recent manifestations of more than canine ferocity!

Shall we say that the morbid affection they labor under, is one, which from its character has been naturally aggravated by the raging of the dog star, and indulge the hope it will be mitigated by the approaching equinox? Or is it that the foremost in the fray against the Southron, having fleshed their teeth on the game, the rest of the pack have become more maddened by the sweet savor of the carnage?

To whatever cause it is to be attributed, certain it is that their malady continues to exhibit symptoms of characteristic and unabated malignancy. The Southern States,—among them Virginia—again, have been harassed by the clandestine practices of Abolitionists. In Texas, by their infernal agency, private dwellings, nay whole villages have been reduced to ashes. Surpassing the great Proto-Martyr, John of Ossawatimie, these new Saints have added to the rifle and the pike, not the torch *only*, but the poisonous drug.

Amid these atrocious schemes and practices are heard again the sinister croakings of the Rochester Raven. “*War*,” “*War*,” “*War to the South!*” The Black Faction rally at his cry, hoping to seat in the chief Magistracy of Massachusetts, one, who it is said, bewailed the failure of John Brown; and in the chief Magistracy of the Union, the first propounder of “the irrepressible conflict.”

Yes, in old Massachusetts, once the boasted land of steady habits, the remorseless Jesuit, followed and honored by mischievous agitators, is again uttering, as prophecies, the foul wishes of his own heart. Disappointed in his own aspirations: compelled to forego his own claim to the Commandery, he exults, with counterfeited joy, at the anticipated triumph of Lincoln, as though it were the advent of the true Republican Messiah.

“The people of the United States,” he tells the Bostonians, “are calling to the head of the Nation, Abraham Lincoln, whose claim to that seat is, that he confesses the obligation of that higher law which the sage of Quincy proclaimed; and that he avows himself for weal or woe, for life or death, a soldier on the side of freedom, in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery.”

He urges the “solid men” of Boston “to bear onward and forward the flag of freedom.”

He tells them they have “arrived at the last stage of this conflict, before they reach the triumph which is to inaugurate this great policy” (of Black Republicanism) “into the government of the United States.”

And he assures them that “for the first time, this banner will be unfurled in safety in many of the Slave States.”

“Let not your thoughts,” he adds “be confined to the single hour. I tell you, fellow-citizens, that with this victory

comes the end of the power of slavery in the United States.”

People of Virginia, do you still sleep? If not, ponder well on these new oracles. Do not be too ready to conclude that they are the dreams of an enthusiast; the teachings of moral science or abstract philosophy;—mere paintings of fanciful images or imaginary beings. Seward is no dreaming enthusiast, but a calculating political Jesuit. *His soldier* is no phantom, but a real man of flesh and blood; *his flag* for “the solid men of Boston” is the blood-stained banner of the Abolitionists;—*his irrepressible conflict* is an actual ceaseless assault upon the domestic regulations and political independence of the Southern people.

Remember, it was Lincoln who originated the menace of the “irrepressible conflict.” It was Lincoln who proclaimed, in effect, that the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States could not continue united under a common government. It was Lincoln who vaunted of associates numerous enough to extinguish slavery, through the *peaceful* channel of the ballot-box; or, failing that, through *some other channel*. All this Seward knew. He knew, too, that a new society of agitators had been recently formed, comprising already, it is said, 100,000 able-bodied men, with an organization of a mixed character—civil and military—whose very name is significant of principles and purposes as nefarious as his own or Lincoln’s.* He knew that the most noted representatives and the leading journalists† of his party, had given currency to similar revolutionary intimations, and that 60 or 70 members of Congress had seconded the insurrectionary proclamation of a Southern renegade.§ He knew that these opinions and intimations had been practically expounded by that felon-martyr they now delight to honor, as justifying invasion and blood-shed, and that among his Boston hearers were, probably, many who approved the exposition, sympathized with Brown, and deplored his failure; yet, not one syllable did he utter to warn them

* *Wide Awakes*—the name, it is said, of a company commanded by John Brown in Kansas—by a felon whose crimes have justly consigned him to the gallows.

† Wilson, Burlingame, Wade, Lovejoy and Spartacus Sedgwick, and Barbarous Sumner.

‡ Greeley, Bryant, Weed, &c.

§ Helper’s “*Impending Crisis*.”

against a similar construction and similar atrocities.

Can you doubt that he meant, insidiously, to inculcate the "golden tenet" of the Jesuits—

"The end doth sanctify the means."

Heaven only knows the workings of his dark spirit—but whether such were or were not his meaning, knowing what he did know, he stands responsible before God and man for all the consequences of such an interpretation.

Who of the Republicans—what follower of Seward or Lincoln—will now pretend that slavery is to be extinguished "*in the United States*," by peaceful, legal and constitutional measures, or moral suasion? What need of arms, and soldiers, and flags, and military organizations, for teachers of ethics, civil societies, or law-abiding citizens? Why talk of the higher law, if the sole appeal intended was to the law of the land?

HIGHER LAW.

Much and often we hear of this higher law, which binds the tender consciences of the modern Jesuits. They tell us its "seat is the bosom of God." Man, who cannot see into the bosom of his neighbor, impiously reads the secret thoughts of the God who made him. No. The law of the Jesuits is at least not to be found in the Christian's Bible. The law there recorded, forbids murder and theft, and false swearing. It inculcates the love of our neighbors, and enjoins peace and charity. Reverse all this, and you have the higher law of the Jesuits; and the reason is plain, among them every hypocrite or enthusiast may make higher law for himself, or procure it ready made, or made to order, as readily as pikes or rifles, shoes or calicoes, at the established factories of the North.

The great firms of Seward and Sedgwick, or Greely & Co., can supply the universe.

John Brown and Coppie made their own higher law, commanding midnight invasion, insurrection and murder. The missionaries to Texas, under a new dispensation are indulged in the free use of the drugged bowl and the firebrand; and the Fathers Kirkwood, Lovejoy, and the rest stand ready to grant them absolution.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

It is his confessed loyalty to this law,

that constitutes the chief feather in the cap of Abraham Lincoln—the Republican soldier. Governed by such principles; vowing eternal hostility to the South; this is the man on whom Seward and his black-hearted faction would confer the chief magistracy over thirty-three States; with the power in person to command the whole military and naval force of the Union, that he may *rule the South, crush their domestic institutions, and subvert their sovereignty.*

A conquering nation usually leaves to its vanquished enemies the enjoyment of their laws and customs. "It is in America—in the 19th century—the era of the world's greatest progress," that allies, sworn friends, bound by a covenant between their fathers and ours to dwell with us in peace and amity under a common government, seek to impose upon us their domestic policy and to abrogate our ancient usages and institutions; usages and institutions coeval with the first formation of human society; existing among us long prior to our alliance, and constituting in fact the very basis on which it was founded; maintained by our obtrusive allies themselves so long as slave labor brought money into their purses; adapted to our climate and productions; especially recommended by their beneficent and humanizing influence on the slave; making as they do his condition not only infinitely better than that of his swarthy brethren, either in Africa or in the 'free States,' but better in the main than that of the shivering, starving, staggering whites throughout the world, who, under the vaunted title of *free laborers*, are condemned to menial services as hard, as debasing, and as involuntary—these our usages and institutions, approved by 'our own judgment and feelings', sanctioned by reason and nature, and nature's God, are to be abrogated; *per fas aut nefas*; by those who know that they are essential to our prosperity and identified with our very existence.

And for what! Is it really for the benefit of the slave? Is he to be elevated to the level of the white man? *Let his condition at the North answer the enquiry*: a freedman without the privileges of freedom. Seward himself scouts at the very idea of African equality. No, the sole object is to rob the master and cheat the slave, and the result of these continued and desperate movements is more likely,

far more likely to end in the ruin, if not utter extermination of the slave than in the extinction of slavery.*

The history of no civilized confederacy presents similar instances of outrage and perfidy. Future ages will scarcely believe their own chronicles which records them. And yet these monsters claim credit for their love of freedom; their humanity; their *ethics*.

Let us pause here and ask how would these artificers of mischief relish a strict enforcement of the *lex talionis*! Organized bands of Southrons—say—made desperate by persecution—resolved to turn against their persecutors their own weapons of destruction: to commend the poisoned chalice to their own lips, in the old and homely phrase, “to fight the Devil with fire.” Not one Devil only—the Black Prince of the Jesuits—but the incarnate host over whom he rules. Secret pledges, say, bind these bands to vengeance in every form of retaliation. To-day, a mighty leader falls by an unseen hand:

*A striking parallel might be run between religious Jesuits of old, and the Black Republicans—the political Jesuits of this enlightened era!

The professed object of the religious order, we are told, was the salvation of mankind.

That of the political one is the extinction of slavery.

Equal sincerity must be accorded to both; the real object of each being to secure the power and influence of its own sect or party.

With the followers of Loyola, the essential principle was, that the end sanctified the means.—Their zeal gave currency to tenets,*** which shook the basis of all political allegiance, and loosened the obligations of every human law.

The essential principle of the followers of Seward is the Higher Law, which they avow absolves them from their political compacts, and renders the supreme law, though they may take an oath to observe it, of no binding force upon their consciences.

The indefatigable industry and countless artifices of the religious Jesuits, in resisting the progress of reformed religion, * * * postponed the triumph of tolerant and christian principles.

The persevering plots and countless tricks of the political Jesuits in resisting the institution of slavery, even in its mildest form, has prevented the emancipation of thousands, and postponed for centuries, if not forever, the accomplishment of the object they profess to desire.

In a word to quote an able opponent of Jesuitism: “If an instrument is wanted which may at once quench the flame of charity, throw us back in the career of ages, sow the seeds of everlasting divisions, lay a train which is to explode in the citadel of truth, and overturn her sacred towers, we venture confidently to affirm that Jesuitism is that instrument.” And as confidently may we affirm for all such unholy purposes, the political Jesuitism of Seward and his followers is just such an instrument.

to-morrow, another by a deadly potion.—Dwellings with unoffending women and children, flourishing factories, entire villages, from time to time, are reduced to ashes, by midnight incendiaries. No; I will not suppose so horrible a revenge.—The Southern people will never copy the example of their loving brethren. Justice might sanction; the usage of nations might excuse their stern retribution; not a word could the wrong-doers utter against it. Yet humanity shudders at the thought. These are deeds too foul, cruelties too monstrous to be retaliated.

Our adversaries confidently anticipate success. Lincoln once inaugurated, the Black flag, they tell us, will wave over many of the Southern States. Then comes *the victory*: “and with this victory comes the end of the power of slavery IN THE UNITED STATES.”

Yes, the day is at hand—“*the last stage*” is reached. On the 4th day of March next, “the Great Policy” is established: and “*the crisis passed*,” and “the irrepressible conflict terminated.” Never did Miller more confidently predict the approaching end of the world, than does the Great Prophet indicate the day which is speedily to end slavery in the United States. Doubtless the end of slavery, as of all things else, may come. But, end when it may, its end will be at the time appointed by heaven—not by Seward. Let him and Lincoln weep over their millions doomed to die without beholding the day of triumph.

“So long, so brightly pictured to their hopes,” Seward’s “last stage” can never be reached: Lincoln’s “crisis” can never be passed, nor the home of the Southron again invaded, till the Potomac shall be turned into a sea of blood, and its disparted wave give passage to the enemies of God and man. Let the boast be true, that “the Republican Party are practically the North.” Before they shall triumph in their iniquity, their misrule must bring perdition on their own heads. Give them Lincoln and Hamlin—their million and a half of Dreamers and Wide Awakes—their ballot boxes and cartridge boxes—their pikes and their torches, the army, and the navy, and the treasury, the will and the courage to attempt their nefarious schemes on the desecrated hall of the Union where their impious chief shall be inaugurated, to feed on the flesh and quaff the blood of the Southron; in the midst of

their orgies, a writing will be seen on the wall—and this its interpretation :

*The days of your power are numbered ; You have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Your people are divided and given up to Demagogues and Demoniacs.**

Well may these lawless conspirators express the belief that “no two nations upon the earth entertain feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other than these two sections of the Republic.” No one man has done more to foment our intestine feud than William H. Seward. No one event—nay not all that ever occurred before—not even the diabolical enterprise of John Brown—has raised that head to such a height of exasperation as the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin, to make war upon the South. By offending the pride of the Southern people that act has given to the conflict a more decided character of sectional, or rather national hostility. Yes, it has roused into full energy the sentiment—among the strongest of which our nature is susceptible—of *nationality*, which the yoke of the oppressor may crush, but can never extinguish—that sentiment which made the raw recruits of the French Republic an overmatch for the disciplined forces of the combined monarchy of Europe—that sentiment which has roused the sluggish Italian—and now speeds Garibaldi in the career of victory.

Kossuth admirably displays his knowledge of human nature when speaking of the Italian revolution, he says :

“There are commotions which owe their origin to mal-administration, &c. * * * These may be put to rest by reasonable reforms, concessions, &c. But the Italian question is not a question of that character. The problem is not such or another form of government, such or another abuse or grievance, demanding such or another improvement, concession, redress :—No, the Italian question is a question of *nationality*. * * * and nothing short of the utter extermination of the Italians could secure the rule of Austria in Italy.”

**Demoniacs, Ismailites or Ismaelians* would be a more appropriate name ; after a clan in Syria so called. They were also called *Butarists*, [Satanists?] Their religion was a compound of *isms*, *Mageanism*, *Judaism*, *Mohammedanism*, &c. “They were remarkable for their assassination.” I quote Northern authority—Webster’s Dictionary, *vile Assassins!* Webster does not inform us when they migrated to the Northern States.

Shall that last degradation to which any people can be subjected, the impossible achievement which our enemies propose, and which the bloodiest conquerors rarely attempt, of *denationalizing* a nation—that wrong which has fired the Italians,—shall that not rouse Virginians? He is no true Virginian who will not resent and resist the attempt.

I need not stop to expose the false impression meant to be conveyed by representing Lincoln as being called to the Presidency by *the people* of the U States. Seward knows that with the exception of a handful of renegades, the entire people of 15 States look upon Lincoln, as they do upon him, with detestation and abhorrence, and he but renders himself and his compeer doubly detestable by resting the claim of the latter on its true grounds—his readiness to carry on interminably that conflict which has already resulted in shedding Southern blood, and which can never succeed till the Southern people shall be annihilated.

Grosser insult was never offered to independent States, than that offered to the South, in attempting to obtrude into the first political station of the Union, a man whose whole and sole recommendation is his pledge to wage a war “for life or death,” against their peace and welfare, their rights and interests, their laws, customs and habits.

The attempt, it is to be hoped, will be frustrated, by the good sense of the American people. Its only fruit, if successful, must be disunion or eternal discord. Still, in view of its possibility, it behooves you to be prepared to meet the consequences, which may follow. Questions of vital interest have already been propounded for your mature deliberation.

Can the Southern States lawfully secede from the Union?

Should they do so, can force be lawfully employed against them?

What the Southern States may deem it their interest or policy to do, is for them to decide. I know of no power under Heaven which can lawfully question their right to mould their institutions to suit themselves, without the leave or consent of any other State. If ever Virginia shall think proper to assert that right, if she must be involved in a second struggle for independence, there will be but one sentiment among her sons. They will not forget that it is to her they owe their

undivided love and allegiance; and that whoso in the day of her peril is not for his country, is against her.

September, 1860.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 14.

[Oct. 1860.]

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

The magnitude of the interests involved in the pending contest for the Presidency; the bitterness which more and more characterises its progress; the uncertainty still shrouding the issue, though on the very eve of the great battle which may finally solve it—have at length roused Virginia, in common with every other State of the Union, to a pitch of intense excitement. The “last stage” of the conflict, we are told, *has arrived*—the predicted “crisis” is about to be *passed*, which the agitators of the North confidently anticipate will end in crowning their hopes. Dark will be that day, should it ever come—the darkest, possibly the last, ever marked in the National calendar. But will it come? Despite the universal despondency of the patriots of the land, I must be still incredulous. So much wickedness and folly cannot exist, or be allowed to triumph.—The exulting zealots themselves, ere it be too late, will pause and reflect, that the first blast of the cannon which shall announce their victory will be the funeral knell of their power. It may unsettle the foundations of the Union, but the authors of its ruin *must* fall with it; and their fall will be as the fall of Lucifer.

Months have passed away since the probable success of the Northern factions was fully in your view; yet you have decided on no plan, made no preparations, to meet an event which menaces your political independence and personal safety. A few days more, and the time will have arrived, when you will be forced definitively to decide what course you should pursue, to rid yourselves of Northern oppression and repel Northern hostility. That question will not be put aside, whatever may be the result of the election. It must be met *at once* should your enemies succeed. And it *must* ultimately,—and as certainly, be met at no distant day, should they be defeated. No President, no party can protect you against the Constitutional and established *supremacy*, or the sworn hostility, of your Northern allies.

Already other questions connected with

this, and scarcely less momentous, have been brought before you, and at this moment are undergoing vehement discussion in the public journals, in political clubs and popular assemblages. I allude to what for the sake of brevity, are called the Norfolk questions. Upon these I had intended to offer you my imperfect views. The entire subject deserves your full and dispassionate consideration. Upon your decision may depend the preservation of the Union, and what is infinitely more important to you, your peace, your unquestionable privileges, the very existence of your ancient commonwealth. But this is not the time for calm reflection. Amid the din of the conflict now raging, scarce the voice of Washington himself would be heard, were he to rise from his tomb.

At some more propitious moment I may possibly resume my humble labors. In that case I shall endeavor to meet those Norfolk questions with something more than an emphatic Yes or No. And without now intimating an opinion as to *the policy*, hope to demonstrate:

I. That *the right* of a State to withdraw from the Union is absolute and perfect; so absolute that retiring States are under no legal obligation to assign any reason whatever for their withdrawal, save their own will and pleasure; so perfect that no earthly power can rightfully question the validity of the act.

II. That no force can be lawfully used against a seceding State by the government of the United States.

First. Because if, as is said, there be no Constitutional right to secede, there is as clearly no Constitutional authority in the Federal Government to make war against a State.

Secondly. More conclusively, because by the secession of one or more States, the States of the Union are all re-united or restored to their primitive condition of separate sovereignties, and “the United States” consequently as a body politic can exist no longer. There will be no such officer as President, no Congress, no federal Judiciary. All federal functionaries, executive, legislative and judicial will be *functi officio*. There will be no federal army, no navy, no treasury. The men, the material, the money, may remain; but the whole will constitute undistributed subjects to be distributed or disposed of by and for the late members of the concern. I do not mean to say that the ex-

isting federal constitution may not be expressly, or perhaps impliedly continued by any or all the residue of the States; but only that upon such secession, the existing Union and government would be *ipso facto* dissolved, and that it would require some new act or compact on the part of the other States, to continue the Union in the same or such modified form as they might think proper.

Intending this brief letter as merely introductory to the new subjects I had still proposed to discuss, I will only say farther that in addition to the views just suggested, I may be allowed to express the hope that the Union may yet be preserved, and once more to point out the means, the sole means, in my humble judgment, by which it can ever be preserved in peace; namely by engrafting in our federal compact, the lost, or at least, as experience has shown, the indispensable principle of equality among equals; equality of political power; equality of rights; equality of interest and benefit in the common property—and finally, if this last claim be rejected by your allies, and force be threatened, then to urge upon you, not in the phrase of the day, to fight them *in the Union*, but *out of it*,—never to concede to them the advantage of employing your men, money, and other means, to fasten upon you the yoke of Northern bondage.

October, 1860.

J. R.

Wrongs and Remedies of the South—No. 15.

(Nov. 1860.)

To the people of Virginia :

"It is very well to talk of confronting sedition boldly, and of *enforcing the law* against those who would disturb the public peace. No doubt a tumult caused by a local and temporary irritation ought to be suppressed with promptitude and vigor.

But woe to the government which cannot distinguish between a nation and a mob! Woe to the government which thinks that a great, a steady, a long continued movement of the public mind is to be stopped like a street riot. This error has been twice fatal to the great House of Bourbon."—MACAULAY.

"*The last stage of the conflict (the irrepressible)* preceding that *triumph* which the Seer of Auburn predicted would *inaugurate the policy of his party, and end slavery in the United States*, has been passed. The great battle of the sixth of November has been fought. Idly contending in detachments the jarring legions of the South have been beaten by the consolidated train-bands of Black and Red Republi-

cans; and the stronghold which commands the citadel of the Union seems about to fall into their hands. Shall we surrender at discretion? Carry on the war they have waged against us till they shall be forced to observe their violated compact? Or, renouncing all connection with unfaithful confederates, sworn to eternal enmity with our domestic institutions, seek our safety in the impregnable bulwark of State sovereignty.

Dropping all figurative allusion—Abraham Lincoln, a foe to the South, is President elect of the Union. Seventeen of the confederated States, (one of them, New Jersey, by a bare majority) being all the States except one, (Oregon,) on one side of a geographical boundary, have persevered in forcing upon nearly an equal number on the other, against their united opposition, and oft repeated warnings, a man who hates them, and whom they unanimously detest; a man with no qualifications superior to those of the plainest citizen; one who confesses his faith in the Higher Law, and stands pledged 'for life or death,' to war against their rights—in a word, whose sole recommendation is that he *is a foe to the South!*

Three short weeks—not three—have elapsed since the welkin rang with the shouts of the victors; and *already*, mingled with their boastful and bloody threats you hear their cries of terror, and lamentations of distress. Nor is this a matter of surprise to any sound, reflecting mind. It was seen or apprehended by all, save the deluded followers of the Auburn Jesuit, that while their anticipated triumph might jeopard the peace and prosperity of the South in common with those of the whole nation, it would inevitably, sooner or later, overwhelm themselves in ruin. Fed, pampered, bloated by draining the rich treasures of the South, they have aimed a death-blow at the authors of their prosperity, their allies, their friends, their brethren; the glancing weapons have fallen at their own feet, and they are reeling from the blow. Hoping to destroy the objects of their hate, they have deliberately, wickedly, laid violent hands on the pillars of the Union. They will be expelled from the temple, or if it must fall, buried beneath its ruins; without the malignant satisfaction of destroying those whose destruction they meditated. Think of the condition of the country before the general anticipation of Lincoln's election

and look at it now! Behold, especially, the havoc of the twenty days since that fatal event was exultingly proclaimed. What an unexampled revulsion! Commerce well-nigh stagnant—enterprise of every kind at a stand—universal distrust. The Banks of our State, and elsewhere, as solvent as any in the Union, rather from caution than necessity, suspending the redemption of their notes—stocks, generally considered barometers of public prosperity—not those of private individuals merely or corporate companies, but of sovereign States—and with them the whole property of the country—depreciated to an incalculable amount—the peaceful pursuits and social intercourse of thirty millions of people interrupted; still more deplorable than all this, a determined, nay, a virtual disruption of the Union; and many of the Southern States, Virginia among them, arming as though in immediate anticipation of civil war. Such are the fruits already gathered, or rapidly maturing, of the great triumph of the worst enemies of the Constitution and the Union, over the peace, the safety and the happiness of their country; achieved at a time of unexampled, unbounded prosperity, and blighting the brightest prospects with which Heaven ever blessed a favored people.

Is it not monstrous to think of it, that all these perils and all this evil have been brought upon us by a handful of crafty politicians and their crazy followers, scarce numbering a tythe of those whose ruin they are rapidly accomplishing?

The South cannot hope to escape wholly unscathed. But slight indeed—if true to itself—must be its injuries compared with the punishment divine justice will inflict upon the plotters of our ruin. *They* have sowed the wind: and already *they* are reaping the whirlwind. Upon their own heads, upon the land of their sires and their sons, will fall the fury of the storm they have invoked upon us. The South with a super-abundant supply of food and raiment, out of which, not Southern "Free Labor" only, but Southern Slavery, may draw without stint, while, O galling reflection, Northern "Free Labor," which so commiserates the condition of the poor African, is perishing for the necessities of life—with means to command by its own industry or from foreign nations, every article it needs, of better quality and cheaper price than those forced

upon it by its Northern allies—with products indispensable to the world, and commanding a ready sale—with a brave and intelligent people who inherit the love of liberty and of self-government—the South can have nothing to ask from its Northern friends but their friendship; nothing to look for with concern from its Northern enemies, but the methodical madness of their picked "ASSASSINS," and the painful necessity of making them martyrs.

And what is our offence, for which these, our envious adversaries to ruin us, would madly destroy themselves and hazard the welfare of millions? *They do not approve our domestic institutions. They cannot accept our system of ethics!*

You shall ransack the history of the world; you may find religious crusades; wars of rivalry, of ambition, of conquest, of revenge; but ceaseless aggressions by a nation to compel its allies to change domestic regulations merely political and exclusively internal, on a puritanical pretence of superior morality, was reserved for the "era of the world's greatest progress." Commissioned by Heaven, in obedience to its newly discovered law, they must wade through blood, if need be, to redress a mighty wrong—a horrid crime which Heaven had sanctioned, if not enjoined, from the days of Noah!—and compel us to adopt their system of ethics!

Cardinal DeRetz tells us that he was forced a thousand times to make this reflection,—that "*examples of times past move men beyond comparison more than those of their own times.*" He doubted "*whether Caligula's horse being made consul*"—a far less mischievous or odious ruler, by the way, than our Northern masters would put over us—"*would have surprised us so much as we imagine!*" Nothing is more true; and the reason seems obvious. Examples viewed with amazement by those removed by time or distance from the scene, can little surprise those among whom they obtain, because usually the public mind has been long familiar with the causes from whence they have naturally flowed, or may have been reasonably expected. Hence with whatever emotions we of this day and generation may regard the passing events, impartial posterity must wonder at the unheard of insolence—the long meditated tyranny of our Northern confederates, and the Spartan heroism and devotion of

the sons of the Palmetto State, now pledged to resist the hosts who threaten to invade their rights and their homes, though outnumbering the army of Xerxes, and *more "barbarous."*

Carry back your thoughts to the day when your fathers signed the bond of Union. Remember the warnings of your Henry and the patriot statesmen who, with him, would have dashed the poisoned cup of Federal oppression and Northern domination from your lips. They knew not the most fatal of its deadly ingredients. They dreamed of no such monstrous iniquity as now arms your allies against you. They were met too by the delusive assurance that their fears and suspicions were groundless; that all the safeguards they could desire would be readily accorded; that, contrary to all experience, power for once would be forbearing and just—trusted to the hands of friends and neighbors; or should it be abused or perverted, could be *resumed* under express stipulation accompanying its grant. Thus quieted, a meagre majority of our State Convention—after inserting the all-sufficing condition of eventual resumption, unwittingly put their seal to the compact which now we are told has fastened upon us *irrevocably* and *forever*, the fetters of Northern domination. And now—insulted and trampled upon—compelled at an enormous cost to protect your hearths and your firesides from your plighted friends—your faintest hint of a wish to withdraw your necks from their yoke—is *Treason! Rebellion!* The allegiance you owe alone to Virginia, which you dare not deny while she continues sovereign—which she never did nor could transfer—is claimed by those who can have no claim unless recognized as *HER* masters, as well as yours. Do you not know and feel, that if the present political relations of the States had been foreseen—if a light from Heaven had suddenly exhibited to our State Convention a glimpse of what we now witness and endure—the mortal hatred, the execrable designs, and murderous deeds of our friends and brethren of the North, they would have trampled the compact of Union indignantly beneath their feet, as one consigning their country to dishonor and vassalage? And now, when these evils are upon us, Virginia is threatened with the lash of the Northern whip if she dare resist—nay, if she but claim to withdraw in peace from

the ceaseless and faithless assaults of her confederates.

But thank Heaven the destinies of Virginia are not yet in the hands of external enemies, nor of the renegades who would give them aid and comfort. If thrown upon her own resources, she can defend herself against them all. These idle vauntings are the last resource of baffled and quailing adversaries. The time is at hand when their menaces must be put to the test. Unhappily through their morbid temper and factious meddling, the States are at length brought to an attitude of direct hostility. Threats of aggression are met by threats of resistance.—Force, if attempted, will be repelled by force. *Force!* for what? Against whom? Sovereign States,—to keep them *united*, not by the silken bands of friendship or affection, but by the grip of iron fetters! By threats of the bayonet and the halter! No: States may be subjugated, crushed, by force. But friendship or affection can never be extorted even by the rack itself. That South Carolina will secede, as soon as *the policy* of the Black Republicans shall be *inaugurated*, or before, the most skeptical of that party cannot now doubt. It is possible that the other Southern States, or the greater part of them, may suspend that final step, the last, perhaps, the sole refuge from Northern oppression—to offer once more terms of compromise and definitive settlement. If there be *the will* on the part of our assailants to continue our alliance, there is, no doubt, *a way* to effect it on terms just in themselves and honorable to all parties. Let them not delude themselves by the belief that any threats or even promises will now satisfy the South; any patched up, temporising compromise dependent on the will or pleasure, or even the plighted faith of a Northern majority. The Southern people are too effectually roused to be intimidated by threats. The menace of force, will but hasten Disunion. They have been made too sensible by their own experience, of Black Republican justice and clemency, to repose faith in any promises or pledges from that quarter. They must have more effectual guarantees—a radical change, if not in the temper of their allies, at all events in the organic law of the Federal Union—guarantees stronger than the repeal of nullifying statutes, which may at their discretion be re-enacted, to rob us of our property and

put our lives and liberty at the mercy of a Republican mob or a Republican jury—stronger than the assurances of Lincoln, and his supporters, of his kind intentions and forbearance. No sovereign State, conscious of its own dignity, or alive to the rights and interests of its people, can trust those rights and interests to the safe-keeping or control of any foreign or external power. Among sovereign States *no such relation can be tolerated as that of supremacy and subordination—Ruler, and Ruled.* The principle is *equality among equals.* Let them give us *that*—which they cannot in justice refuse: *equality in the passage of Legislative measures; equality in the administration of the Executive powers; equality in the common property.* Let them accord these as the basis of a renewed compact. Let them effectually enforce the existing constitutional guarantees for the *delivery of fugitives from labor, and from justice, and for the protection of the States against invasion*—from every quarter—and the South will doubtless extend to them again the right hand of fellowship. The Union rested upon the pillars of equality and justice, may yet stand for centuries, and the prayer of every patriot will be, *Esto perpetua.*

Unless this or something equivalent shall be done, it needs no gift of prophecy to predict that the sacred fabric must at no distant day be scattered into fragments—if the people of the South still possess a tythe of the spirit of their ancestors, or that which animated old Massachusetts—when her sons—then indeed our brethren—indignantly hurled into the sea, the once cherished but then hateful luxury, which could no longer be tasted without reminding them of foreign subjection and provincial degradation.

J. R.

November 26, 1860.

FOR THE WHIG.

[19 Dec. 1860.]

TO THE HON. JOHN ROBERTSON.

It may be assumed as a conceded fact, that the American Union cannot be preserved, or reconstructed if destroyed, unless the States of the minority section are armed with the constitutional power of protection. "The veto must be given to the States, THE TRIBUNES of our system, by which effectual protection may be assured to them." Mr. Calhoun came to this unwilling conviction at the close of

his great career, and suggested the idea of a dual executive. You have put forth the plan of a dual Senate. I respectfully enquire if the South could not go farther still and demand concurrent sectional majorities in both houses of Congress. A recent writer (whose book entitled "The Lost Principle," is worthy of public attention), has declared that "the Constitution of the United States is indeed a compact between States, but it is also a compact between slave-holding and non-slaveholding sections." To prove this position, argument and authority are abundantly adduced by him. An equilibrium between the sections in the first days of the government was its predominating principle. It constituted, indeed, the very basis of its creation. That equilibrium has been destroyed. Its restoration in some form is the only means by which the government can be rescued from the dangers which environ it, and the American Union perpetuated.

Convinced of this and satisfied that the equilibrium between the sections, if restored, should be perfect and complete, I ventured to submit to your maturer judgment and more enlightened understanding, the following propositions as suitable amendments to the Federal Constitution :

1st. Upon the demand of the Representatives present from any two States, pending the consideration of any bill, order or resolution, the Representatives of the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States shall divide into separate Houses, and the concurrence of both Houses shall be necessary to the passage of the bill, order, or resolution so pending at the time of the division. When such division is so demanded, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate a member of each House to act as Chairman, whose duty it shall be to have the vote taken by ayes and noes, and without debate. Immediately upon the taking of the vote, the two Houses shall reassemble as the House of Representatives of the United States, and the Speaker of that body shall cause the vote of each House to be announced, and declare the question to be carried or rejected, as the case may be.

2d. Upon the demand of the Senators from any two States pending the consideration in secret or open session of any impeachment, treaty, nomination to office, bill, order, or resolution, the Senators from the slave-holding and non-slaveholding

States shall divide into separate chambers. The concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present in each chamber shall be necessary to a conviction in a case of impeachment, and for the ratification of a treaty. And the concurrence of a majority of the Senators present in each chamber shall be necessary for the confirmation of a nomination to the office, or for the passage of a bill, order, or resolution.—When such division is demanded, the President of the Senate shall designate a Senator of each chamber to act as Chairman, whose duty it shall be to have the vote taken by ayes and noes, and without debate. Immediately upon the taking of the vote the two chambers shall reassemble as the Senate of the United States, when that body shall cause the vote of each chamber to be announced, and declare the question carried or rejected, as the case may be.

The restraint thus imposed upon the action of the Federal Government would result in consequences the blessings of which no man can foresee. The Government would indeed be not in theory only, but in practice, a confederation of Sovereign States, with certain delegated powers to be used for the common benefit of all, and incapable of being perverted to the injury and oppression of any. Confined to the few great objects for which it was originally created, it would move in its appointed orbit, with the order which marks the working of material laws, and vindicate the great truth, that Government is properly instituted for the common good and benefit of all, and not to secure the greatest good to the greatest number. "It would make the Union a Union in truth; a bond of mutual affection and brotherhood, and not a mere connection used by the stronger as the instrument of dominion and aggrandizement" over the weaker. I have not wearied you with the consideration of the disease which has seized upon the vitals of the Constitution. Its diagnosis is comprehended by every thinking man North and South. I have ventured in *amplification of your own idea to suggest* a remedy which would certainly reach and eradicate it. Will the remedy be applied? The responsibility of answering this solemn question rests on the States composing the stronger section. Those of the weaker are in a minority, both of States and population; and of consequence in every department of the Government.

They then cannot be responsible for an act which requires the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, or two-thirds of the States to originate, and three-fourths of the latter to consummate.

With such difficulties in their way, the States of the weaker section can do nothing, however disposed to save the Union and the Government, without the aid and co-operation of the States composing the stronger section; but with their aid and co-operation both may be saved. On the latter therefore rests the responsibility of invoking the high power which alone can apply the remedy—and, if they fail to do so, of all the consequences which may follow."

VIRGINIUS.

[FOR THE EXAMINER.]

[25th Dec. 1860.]

TO VIRGINIUS.

I have read in the *Whig* of Wednesday last, the propositions you suggest as *suitable amendments to the Federal Constitution*, which you politely submit for my consideration. You characterize them as an *amplification of my own idea of a dual Senate*.

The subject is among those heretofore partially discussed by me, and my intention was to offer some farther observations upon it. A brief response to your enquiries will not materially derange the plan I had intended to pursue.

Your propositions, (omitting details,) require *sectional majorities in both Houses of Congress*, as necessary to the final passage of all laws or resolutions; to convictions in cases of impeachment; and to the confirmation of appointments to office.

In urging three years ago an *equality of vote in the Senate, in all cases, between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States*, I was induced to limit the principle to that body by several considerations.

I. An extension of that principle would be, without doubt, strenuously and even plausibly opposed.

II. It would contravene the deliberate judgment of the framers of the Constitution, who thought population should be the ruling principle in the popular branch.

III. If possible to obtain an extension of the principle of equality to the House, it would add greatly to the complexity of the Constitution.

IV. Finally, it was of no material im-

portance to our security against unjust sectional legislation—an effectual check in one branch being as good as in both.

In short, the plan of proposing to limit the principle of equality to the Senate was deemed by me more attainable, more simple, sufficiently effectual, and in strict conformity or analogy to the views of the original framers, in ordaining equality in that body, and in that body only, between all the States. Had there been but two States, or as now unhappily two sections, widely differing in pursuits, habits, sentiments and institutions, who can doubt that *Senatorial equality at least* between them, would have been mutually conceded, or, if not, that no Union would have ever been formed?

These are briefly the main reasons which determined my original proposition.

I may add, that to attain the proposed Legislative protection, a formal division, as at first suggested by me, does not seem necessary. Without such formality, a simpler plan would be to declare that no bill, resolution, or other measure whatever, including appointments to office, and proceedings in cases of impeachment, should be final, unless voted for by a majority of the Senators of each section.

I would extend this Senatorial *veto* to all Senatorial proceedings, for the plain reason that no measure nor functionary should be imposed upon fifteen States, having in the main an identity of interest between themselves and diverse or opposite interest to those of other States, against the will of a majority of their representatives.

JOHN ROBERTSON.

[The following, omitted by mistake, should have been inserted before, No. 11, p. 34,]

Wrongs and Remedies of the South.

(May 25, 1860.)

To the people of Virginia :

The defence by Senator Seward of himself and his republicans, disingenuous as it is, must be regarded as an authentic expose of their present principles and views. Pronounced *ex cathedra*, in the midst of a crisis, (*not yet passed*,) which threatens a disruption of the Union; artfully contrived to screen from odium, that party and that leader whose machinations and misdeeds have brought the country to this calamitous condition, and to secure to them the power of dictating "*the whole policy of the government*," it must command public attention, I have neither ability nor space to give it the analysis it deserves. Leaving that task to abler hands, I will add some further observations on this new web of sophistry.

SEWARD'S SPEECH, FEB., 1860—BLACK REPUBLICAN POLICY.

I have already noticed the disingenuous intimation that the 'irrepressible conflict' was to be confined to the settlement of the slavery question *in and for the Territories only*. The same perverted construction you will find more distinctly attempted in the following sentence :

"I know of *only one policy* which it [the Republican party] has adopted or avowed, namely, *the saving of the Territories of the United States* if possible, by constitutional and lawful means, *from being homes for slavery and polygamy*."

Now, the oracle pronounced at Rochester had certainly no exclusive reference to the Territories; nor did it, so far as I remember, propose to exclude polygamy. Opposition to this religious institution of their own brethren seems but recently to have become a part of the republican creed. While Mormon "propagandists" were roaming and roosting in the Territories—one gander to a dozen geese—and the kindered votaries of the Goddess of Free Love, like 'chartered libertines,' worshipping at her shrine, in their native home of N. England, we heard of no anti-polygamy nor anti-Free-Love societies. The Republicans kept their eyes on that hideous monster afar off in the South, which appeared shortly after the flood, and probably long before; which Noah and Paul approached unterrified, and Christ himself left unbuked. It was this bugbear alone which

roused the sensibilities of their great leader. In addition to his emphatic announcement of the irrepressible combat which was to be waged against it, hear what he said twelve years ago at Cleveland :

"Slavery can be *abolished*; and you and I can and *must* do it."

Did he mean to abolish it in the Territories where it did not then exist?

Turn to the speech of his co-laborer, Senator Wade, of Ohio, at a mass meeting of Republicans, in 1855.

"The only salvation of *the Union* is to be found in divesting *it* of the taint of slavery."

Similar proofs, falsifying this new version of the policy of the Republicans, may be found without number, in the avowals of their leaders and associates.

Is it just, it may be asked, to hold Seward responsible for what has been said or done by them? Most just. *Noscitur a sociis*—not only are we justly judged by our company, but it is a settled principle that men associated for a common purpose of mischief, are all responsible for the acts and admissions of each other. Most of all does this responsibility attach to the chief who leads them on. But Seward's own declarations are more than sufficient to convict him of insincerity, in asserting that the '*only policy*' of the Republicans ever was, or now is, to exclude slavery—or polygamy,—from *the Territories*. The conflict he predicted, I repeat, was one to *abolish or establish slavery throughout the Union*. Truly interpreted—to abolish slavery *in the Southern States*, for he well knew, that the first thought or wish of establishing it in the Northern, never entered the mind of a Southern man. Thus interpreted, how absurd is it to talk of solving "*the great national issue*" by ballots? What ballots? Not one would the South offer upon either branch of the issue. They will never deign to tender or accept an issue which hints a doubt of their sovereign right to regulate their own domestic concerns.

SOVEREIGNTY OF STATES AS TO SLAVERY, ADMITTED.

That right, even their arch enemy himself is compelled to acknowledge. He says :

"We [the Northerners] are excluded justly, wisely and *contendedly* [q?] from all political power and responsibility in your *capital States*. *You are sovereigns on the subject of slavery* as we are on the same subject within our borders." "The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns is

divided between us, by unmistakable boundaries ; you have your fifteen distinct parts ; we eighteen parts equally distinct."

Here, then, is a great national issue between the North and the South, or rather two issues—1st. Shall slavery be *abolished* at the South? 2nd. Shall it be *established* at the North?—to be determined by ballots, on neither of which can the one party cast a vote adverse to the other. As to fastening slavery upon the North, even were the Southern people tormented by the mischievous itch of meddling with the internal affairs of other States, the idea is too preposterous for any serious notice. "The Higher Law" has irrevocably settled that. Not the laws of man only, but those of God must be changed before slavery, negro slavery at least, can live in the clime where Mormons, Spirit-rappers, and Abolitionists are indigenous? It will prosper there, when snows shall linger till June in the valley of the Mississippi, and rice and tobacco, the cotton plant and the sugar cane, spring spontaneously on the barren plains of Massachusetts and Connecticut, or the White Mountains of Vermont. No.—*The great national issue was never meant to be confined to the Territories, nor to be solved by suffrages.* The Ossawatimie martyr was right. His prophet meant gunpowder—not ballots, but bullets. The new senatorial version would make it mean nothing.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS.

But, while in one breath we are now told that the *one only policy* adopted or avowed by the Republicans in respect to slavery is territorial, and all right to regulate our affairs is disavowed, yet they must *discuss* them.

"We cannot accept your system of capital or ethics."

That was exactly the notion of the sage philosopher, John Brown—

"We must, indeed, mutually discuss both systems. All the world discusses all systems. Especially must we discuss them, since we have to decide as a nation, which of the two we ought to ingraft on the new and future States."

But can it be said truly that the discussion is confined by the Republicans to the new States or Territories? Do they not discuss it with the view and design to engraft their system of capital and ethics on the old States as well as the new ones, of the South? They cannot force it upon us, it is now admitted, by pikes or votes. But they may discuss our system ; sap it

if they can, by argument. *We complain*, he says, *that they discourse too boldly*—and "*sanction books* designed to advocate emancipation." No—our complaint is, that they sanction books that sanction insurrection and assassination—such books as Helper's, and such journals as Greeley's and Weed's, and Bryant's ; and such speeches as Seward's, and Wade's, and Abram Lincoln's ; and such sermons as Parker's, and Beecher's, and Cheever's. But we must not complain :—

"Surely," says Senator Seward, "you can hardly expect the Federal Government, or the political parties, to maintain a censorship of the press or of debate."

According to these ethics it is lawful to do indirectly what it is unlawful to do directly. The Republicans cannot put down slavery in the South by lawful means.—They confess it is a subject over which *we have exclusive sovereign power.* But they must *discuss* it : they must utter and publish arguments to effect a prohibited object—one, which the discussers well know, can only be, and which many among them desire and intend shall be, accomplished by unlawful and murderous means. Witness "the recent *unfortunate* and bloody occurrence of the Harper's Ferry invasion." Truly, they do not accept our system of ethics. They go a bow-shot beyond the religious Jesuits of old ; *they* only sanctioned unlawful means, provided the end was holy ; but no means whatever to accomplish an unholy design, however lawful those means might be for all lawful purposes. But,

"It is the theory of our system that error of opinion may, in all cases, safely be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

In all cases ; all sorts of opinions ; you must discuss them, not only with those your duty and superior wisdom may require you to instruct, but with those who justly regard your lectures as insulting and dangerous. Nay, you must discuss with our slaves, your system of revolt and massacre. Your ethics must be obtruded upon us and them—Lovejoy's ethics—and Brown's ethics—to refute the ethics of Saint Paul, and Socrates, and Washington. speech and the press must be free. Northern Mormons and Freelothers and other moralists, may propagate their licentious creeds, and "play their fantastic tricks," in open day : fill your parlors and bed rooms with foul writings and obscene pictures, to debauch your wives, your sons and your

daughters. Brigands and cut-throats may prepare their hell-broth, and call up by their infernal incantations "black spirits and white," to feast on the flesh and blood of the Southerner;—*the theory is—speech and the press must be free; error may in all cases "be safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it."*

Speech and the press are not free, legally nor morally, to incite to vice or crime. Abstract opinions, indeed, however absurd, honestly entertained, and not designed to effect practical mischief, are no cause of offence. But, to the liberty of spreading among us their demoralizing 'ethics,' their lying prophesies, and insurrectionary appeals,—or singing the praises of their gibbeted martyrs, we of the South, devoted as we are to abstractions, positively demur.* We have much faith in our orators, but we could not trust Patrick Henry himself, if he were living, to persuade those "*exceptional men*" of Senator Seward, whose *earnest convictions* set them to aiming rifles and pikes at our bosoms—of their '*error*,' in the midst of their midnight ouslaughts, by dint of argument. Reason can only convince the rational.—Our lives, and those of our wives and children, are a stake too precious to be hazarded in deference to the theories of the sagest philosopher. Error has been combated by reason ever since the days of Cain and Abel:—Have crimes and follies ceased? Reason was free to combat error while our Northern brethren were drowning witches. Even now, in "*this most enlightened era of the world's progress*," the votaries of error, like Northern voters, outnumber their adversaries by a vast and increasing majority, and new notions and isms—Higherlawism. Abolitionism, Freesoilism, Mormonism, Pugillism, Spiritrapperism. Red and Black Republicanism, and the rest—are constantly and spontaneously springing up in the chosen abode of reason, and wisdom, and witchcraft.

"There is not one disunionist. or disloyalist among us all."

A sweeping assertion, truly.

"If" (the Republican party) "will take up the

*NOTE.—On the 26th March, 1860. Mr. Blake, of Ohio, offered this resolution:

"Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill giving freedom to *every human being*," [felons and madmen included] "and interdicting slavery *wherever* Congress has the Constitutional power, &c."

word Union, &c. and, combining with it that other glorious thought, Liberty, &c., it will move firmly onward with the motto inscribed on its banner—*Union and Liberty, come what may, in victory as in defeat, in power as out of power, now and forever*"

Grand Language! "Of all the cantos that are canted in this canting world, the cant of hypocrisy is the worst!" *Union and Liberty!* Charming words—"glorious thoughts." And yet, what crimes have not been committed in their name! Ask Ireland—ask Madame Roland.

It is a common error to speak of Liberty and Union, as though they were in themselves perfect and unalloyed blessings. What is Liberty to the infant, or the maniac, the Mormon, or the Abolitionist, a Parisian or a Northern mob?

Nor is Union always a thing to be desired, or even endured. The most sacred of all unions, when what it should be, the greatest of all Heaven's blessings—is the direst of all earthly curses when what it should *not* be.

In speaking of the professed devotion of Seward and his Republicans to the Union, as deceitful cant, I allude to the Union as our Fathers made and intended it. I do not doubt their sincerity in maintaining both Liberty and Union, *in a Black Republican sense*; Liberty to play fast and loose with the Constitution; to revile the South; intermeddle with our domestic concerns, and endanger our safety—Liberty to eclipse the orators of Billingsgate, and to convert the press into an infernal machine:—And Union:—*such as they have made it*; the union of the wrongdoer, and the wronged, the oppressor and the oppressed; the treacherous and the true; such a union as that of England and Ireland; of Russia and Poland: of Austria and Italy. Such is the Liberty and Union they would maintain—such the beau-ideal of Republican politics, and Republican ethics.

DISCORDANT RELATIONS—NECESSITY OF SECURITY

Too far, it may be thought, have I extended this disheartening review of the relations now subsisting between the North and the South, social and political,—or, to call things by their right names—our anti-social and discordant connexion. I have shown by multiplied proofs—not selected from prejudiced adversaries; from a sectional or party press, stump orators or nameless libellers: but from their own avowals, the utter falsity of the assertion

that differences of opinion are, with the Northern agitators, 'not of a social or personal nature but political merely'—I have been at some pains to show as the basis of the proposition I have endeavored to maintain, that unless some constitutional security shall be obtained by the South, the continuance of this unnatural connexion with men who hate and persecute us, is an impossibility. Were Senator Seward to apply to a Southern Senator, the opinions he and his associates have expressed of the Southern people—as thus—“*You are a dealer in the bodies and souls of men; you shall not enter the Territory of the United States,*” (or he might as well say, the chamber of the Senate, or the common highway;) “*for we look upon you as more criminal than a Mormon, a robber or a pirate,—these opinions* might not be thought very social in their bearings, though declared to be made in a political, or Pickwickian sense: and, if the Southerner in reply should say, *I believe you, politically, to be a knave, a swindler and a traitor*, it is very likely *this opinion* also, might be misconstrued into something a little personal, and probably lead to another Brooks and Sumner difficulty.

No:—The root of the evil is not in mere political differences, nor in the discussion of harmless abstractions. It is their language of insult; their “social” antipathies; their acts and deeds of open and perfidious enmity. Their violent seizure of Southern property, and the statutes under which it is justified,* were there no other outrages, could not fail to alienate the South. Such manifestations of unfaithfulness and hatred, emanating from States in their sovereign character, must be supposed to reflect the sentiments, not of a faction merely, but of the people who thus act through their authorized

*NOTE.—It seems from the joint report on the Harper's Ferry outrage, that 15 out of the 18 non-slaveholding States have statutes more or less violative of the IV Art. of the Federal Constitution and the fugitive slave law

agents. Hostility and injustice rouse the meekest to resistance. Hate begets hate; and the nearer and dearer the relation between the wrongdoer and the wronged, the more bitter the feud. Never a people experienced more enmity from their foes, than we from those who call themselves our FRIENDS AND BRETHREN. No exaggerated painting of their conduct is needed to rouse your indignant resentment. No color, not even their own, could darken its native hue; no commentary, however severe, but must serve rather to veil than to heighten its naked deformity. I am not conscious of exceeding the bounds of just criticism; nor can they have any right to complain of censures far serner than any I could inflict, who characterize the people of the South, millions at a dash, as dealers in “the souls of men;” and with one daub of their brush paint them as blacker than “Mormons, robbers and pirates.” Yet I can truly declare, that in bringing to your view some of the many painful evidences of unprovoked and unnatural hostility towards us, my purpose has not been to widen the breach between the South and North. Would that it might be forever healed by the balm of mutual cordiality and friendship. Little hope, I fear, there is of that. But a few weeks have elapsed since the capitol of the Union was like to become the scene of a sectional and murderous conflict—and the line of Mason & Dixon to be indelibly marked by blood through the centre of the Representative Chamber. One fall of the uplifted arm, in anger; one advance of the foot; and the first spark of civil war had been lit up, in the very temple of Union. Who may predict what another day may bring forth? How many hours may pass, before some fanatical incendiary—some pious Lovejoy,—shall hold a torch to its sacred walls, and leave the fell destroyer of the Ephesian fane no longer alone in his infamy.

J. R.

